

THE 11/2
WHOLE WORKS

OF THE REVEREND

ROBERT MILLAR, A. M.

LATE MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN PAISLEY.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

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THE
WHOLE WORKS

OF THE REVEND

ROBERT MILLAR, A.M.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

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**THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY,
AND
OVERTHROW OF PAGANISM.**

WHEREIN

The **CHRISTIAN RELIGION** is confirmed; the Rise and Progress of **HEATHENISH IDOLATRY** is considered; the Overthrow of **PAGANISM**, and the Spreading of **CHRISTIANITY**, in the several Ages of the New-Testament Church, are explained; the present State of **HEATHENS** is enquired into, and Methods for their Conversion offered.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY,
AND
OVERTHROW OF PAGANISM.

CHAP. VI. *(Continued.)*

Of the propagation of Christianity, and overthrow of Paganism, from the fifth to the fifteenth Century.

IN the eighth century, the Saxon kings and their people in England, now generally professed themselves Christians; yea, some of them became so zealous, that Cenred, king of the Mercians, tho' a prince well qualified for government, threw up his crown, and taking a monastic habit, under Pope Constantine, spent the remainder of his life in charity, discipline, and devotion. Offa, king of the East-Saxons, kept him company, both in his journey and design. Bede describes him*, as a very graceful person, in the prime of his youth, well qualified to sway a sceptre; but out of devotion, he disengaged himself from his wife, his relations, his interest and country, that, as he believed

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B

lieved, he might receive an hundred fold in this life, *and in the world to come, life everlasting.* King Ina did the same, about the year of our Lord 728^b. Monasteries began now so to increase in England that even Bede himself gives this advice to Egbert bishop of York, that if their numbers and regulations were not taken care of, they might prove to the disadvantage both of church and state. Bede died in the year 735, or, according to others 736; he was born in 673, sent to the monastery of Yarrow, not far from the mouth of the river Tyne, in the bishopric of Durham, while a child where he continued the whole course of his life and made great proficiency in almost every part of learning, spending his whole time in study and devotion: He wrote Axioms, Metaphysics, Mathematics, Controversies, Commentaries on Scripture, and several books of history: his whole works are contained in eight tomes. Malmesbury gives him an extraordinary character, and says "History slept, and all notice of public transactions was in a manner buried since his time. The English grew slothful and unlettered, and took no care to come up to the sense and figure of their predecessors; and thus the inclination of posterity grew cooler and cooler, till they dwindled at last into a remarkable ignorance."

The conversion of the northern parts of Germany, about this time, deserves our particular notice. In entering upon this subject, I might enlarge upon the idolatry of those nations, but have

^b Collier's Ecclesiastical history of Britain, vol. 1. pag. 123. ^c Ibidem pag. 124. Bedæ Epistola ad Egbertum Epif. ^d Malmesbury de gestis Anglorum, lib. 1. cap. 3. opud Collier ubi supra, pag. 126.

have given some account thereof already^e; and those who are curious, may see more in a book intitled *Antiquitates Selectæ Septentrionales & Celticæ*, auctore Johanne Georgio Keyssler, printed at Hanover, in 1720; where we may find how these nations, and even the English Saxons, before they received the gospel, worshipped huge stones, as in the monument Henching near Salisbury, and trees and woods, with a great many uncouth deities; the Sun, the Moon, Odin, Thoron, Tuisco, Mannus, Frea, Hesus, Irmensul, &c. Also how necromancy, charming and witches were frequent among them; yea, they even idolized some of these old hags, as appears from many inscriptions in that learned author. And we may expect further discoveries in these matters when he shall publish his large book intitled *Germania Gentilis, de Diis veterum Celtarum, Gentiumque septentrionalium*, as is proposed in the 197th page of his *Antiquitates septentrionales*. But this book having only come to my hand since I had writ the preceding sheets, and lest this history should swell too much under my hand, I shall not enter upon further enquiries concerning that subject. No doubt, the condition of these northern nations, under Heathenish idolatry and profound barbarous ignorance, was very lamentable; our principal care may be, to discover how these evils were removed.

In order to this, it is to be observed, that tho' in the first ages of the Christian church, our holy religion was propagated through many parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe, as hath been already explained; and came also to some parts of the south

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^e Ibidem
Near the end of chap. II. of this history.

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of Germany, as is observed by Joachimus Muller ^f; yet in the northern parts, which lie toward the Baltic sea, and Sarmatia in Europe, though there might be some few Christians scattered here and there, heathenish idolatry was not extirpated, nor the Christian religion settled before this century. Boniface was a great instrument of promoting this good work; he was a Scotsman, as is proved by Dr. Mackenzie ^g, from the letters of Boniface, and those of the Popes Gregory the second and third, to him, and as is asserted by many other authors cited by Dr. Mackenzie and Dempster ^h. He was born in the year 670, and called Winnifred; he entered into orders in the year 700; in 715 he went from England to Friseland, to preach the gospel there. He went to Rome in 718; his oath of obedience to the Pope, is recorded by Binius ⁱ. Indeed he was faithful to him, and too great a promoter of the papal superstition and supremacy, and he is said to have converted multitudes to the profession of the Christian religion. He was made a bishop in the year 723, and continued to preach in Thuringia, Haffia, and Bavaria. By Pope Gregory he was made archbishop of Mentz in the year 731; he held a council for ecclesiastic affairs in the year 742, where several canons were made, extant in the capitularies of Carloman. About the year 748, he laid down the archiepiscopal dignity in favour of Lullus his scholar, and after this went to Utrecht, to preach the gospel to the unconverted Friselanders, where he was barbarously murdered by the infidels in June 754, and of his age 84.

The

^f Prefatio ad Crantzii Metropolim.^g Lives of Scots Writers, vol. 1.^h In dissertatione de Bonifacii patria. ⁱ Conciliorum, tom. 3. pag. 341.

The Magdeburgic centuriators, from Chronicon Urbis Iſenacenſis, tell this ſtory^a; that when Boniface, biſhop of Mentz, ſaw his neighbours in Thuringia ſo mad upon heatheniſh ſuperſtition, that no man durſt venture to preach the goſpel among them, but with the danger of his life, he levied an army, and made an inroad into their country. The infidels being afraid, retired to a ſtrong place called Tretenburg; Boniface, calling their leaders, ſaid, "All his deſign was to preach the offers of ſalvation to them through Jeſus Chriſt the Redeemer." The Thuringians being intent upon worldly gain, aſked, "What advantage would redound to them by ſubmitting to Chriſt?" The biſhop answered, "Chriſt the Son of God became man to purchaſe righteouſneſs and eternal life; if you believe in him, you will be delivered from all evil in ſoul and body, from hell, and from the power of the devil; yea, ſhall receive heaven and eternal happineſs." "But, ſaid they, we are under the ſervitude of the King of Hungary, who obliges us to pay the tenth to him, not only of our worldly goods, but even of our children; if the God you worſhip will relieve us from this ſervitude, we will believe in him, worſhip and adore him; but if otherwiſe, we will retain our old religion at all hazards." Boniface being a long time doubtful what to answer to this propoſal, at laſt was admoniſhed by a viſion, ſaying, "O ſlow in heart to believe, how can the Thuringians believe on me, when thou thyſelf doubtſt? Haſt thou not read in the ſcripture, *He ſuffered no man to do them wrong, yea, he reprov'd kings for their ſake?*

B 3

I command

^a Cent viii. pag. 13. Tit. de Propagatione Eccleſiæ.

I command thee to tell the Thuringians, they shall be free of these tythes; it shall not be in the power of the king of Hungary to exact these of them, and stay thou in their country, till thou see all this made good." When Boniface had told them this message, they began to give a more favourable reception to the Christian religion. The king of Hungary being informed that Boniface had absolved his subjects from obedience to him, marches an army against them. When they came to a decisive battle, Boniface prayed earnestly for these new converts, and they soon gained the victory, and acknowledged they obtained it by the favour of Almighty God; and therefore they rejected their heathenish superstition, embraced the doctrine of Christ, and were baptized: And, that they might be for ever free from the yoke of the Hungarians, they entreated Boniface to desire king Carloman to send a deputy governor to take them under his protection, which he willingly did.

In this century the emperor Charlemaign concluded a league with Achaius king of Scotland, tho' some writers doubt of this fact, yet our Scots antiquaries, Sir Robert Sibbald, Dr. Mackenzie¹, Dr. Abercromby^m, and others, have given sufficient evidence for it; which authors the reader may consult. In consequence of this league, our king Achaius sent over his brother William, or Guiellerm, (the French annals call him L'Escot) at the head of four thousand men, who had the honour to share in all the glories of the French in these days. The Saracens were routed in Spain, the Lombards in Italy, and the Saxons in Germany.

¹ Lives of Scots writers, vol. 1. nation, vol. 1. pag. 113 & seq.

^m Martial achievements of the Scot

* Spott of Scot

ny were not only routed, but also conquered. Scotland also sent over some learned and religious men, who contributed to the restoring of learning, and propagating religion in several parts of Europe, as is well expressed by Buchanan^a. The most remarkable of those who went over, in obedience to Achaius's command, and Charlemaign's intreaty, were Johannis Scotus, Claudius Clemens, Rabbanus Maurus, and Flaccus Albinus^b, so called from his being born in Albion, as Dr. Mackenzie and Fordun have evinced from Notkerus Balbus, and distinguished him from the English Alcuin; he had the double honour of being the author of the books called Caroline, and the founder of the university at Pavia, and Clemens is said to have founded that at Paris. Of Rabbanus Maurus (who, for the eminency of his learning and piety, was preferred to the archbishopric of Mentz) it was said, "nor Italy nor Germany did ever produce his equal." That all those were Scotsmen, Dr. Mackenzie has plainly proved in their lives^c. That they and others of our country were very instrumental to plant religion in Germany, appears from Bonaventure Strachan in his MSS. entitled, *Germania Christiana, per Scotos*, which is to be seen in

^a In Epithalamio Francisci & Mariæ.

Scotia, cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus orbem,
Sola prope expulsa fuit hospita terra Camænis,
Hinc Sophiæ Grajæ, Sophiæ decreta Latina
Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juvenat
Carolus ad Celtas traduxit ———

When barbarous foes the Roman world o'erspread,
The gentle Muses all to Scotland fled;
Hence Greek and Roman learning in full store,
By Charlemagne to France was waisted o'er,
And planted, thrive, as on their native shore.

^b Spottiswood, lib. 1. pag. 22. Abercromby, ubi supra, pag. 118. ^c Lives of Scots writers, vol. 1. pag. 63. & seq.

in the advocates library at Edinburgh. Du Cange, a foreigner, tells us †, “That he is mistaken, if either an Englishman or an Irishman can be admitted into these houses.” A larger account of these Scots monasteries, and of learned Scotsmen, who propagated religion in Germany, may be seen in Blaeu’s Atlas †.

The planting of Christianity in the northern parts of Germany, which I am now to explain, has been particularly treated of by Albertus Crantzius, doctor of divinity and laws, and dean of the church of Hamburgh †, who had occasion to consult the annals of these churches; he was grieved with the errors and corruptions of the time, but had not the courage to set himself in opposition to them † tho’ he lived toward the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth century, and died about the time Luther first published his propositions against the Pope’s indulgences, and was a man of piety and learning. From him we may observe that

Charlemaign, king of France, and afterward emperor of Germany, grieved to see the infidelity and perfidy of the Saxons, and remembering, that his grandfather Charles Martel, and his father Pepin, who brought the royal dignity into his family, had oft endeavoured to persuade them to renounce Paganism, and embrace the Christian religion, with little success; he set himself to perfect that work they had begun. About the year of our Lord 770, he obtained several victories over the Saxons.

† Du Cange Gloss. med. & inf. Lat. vol. 2. pag. 778. Germ. edit apud Abercromby, ubi supra, pag. 120. † Edit. 1662. Scotia, pag. 22.—25.

† Crantzii Eccl. Hist. sive Metrop. Folio. † Muller in præfat. ad Crantzii Metropolin.

Saxons^u, yet imposed no other conditions upon them, *but to acknowledge the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he had sent.* Many submitted and were baptized, giving hostages for their fidelity; but as soon as the victorious army retired from their country, they returned to their infidelity and rebellion. Wittekind, their sovereign, fought several times with Charlemaign and his captains; at last, being routed, he fled to the king of Denmark, whose daughter he had married.

In the year 780^x, Charlemaign marched a great army into Saxony: Wittekind gathers the whole strength of the country against him; but after a bloody battle is put to flight. The conqueror spared the remainder of the Saxons, requiring only of them to embrace Christianity. He put a garrison in Wittekind's chief castle, and erected a church in the city of Osnaburgh, founding there an episcopal see, to one Wiho a Frislander, who had been converted by Boniface; and appointed a revenue for that bishop and his clergy out of the fruits of the province, that he might instruct and confirm those who had been lately baptized, and settled schools for teaching Greek and Latin. Crantz has a copy of the first charter of erection^y. He founded another church in East Saxony, near the river Weser, in a place called Salingsteed. Hildegryn the brother of Ludger, was the first bishop there. The emperor took also a religious care to demolish the idols the Pagan Saxons worshipped, one of them was called Krodo, adored in the old castle of Hartzburg. Even to this day, says our author^z, "any abominable thing is called Krodo

^u Crantzii Metropolis, cap. 1. pag. 2. ^x Ibid cap. 2. ^y Ibid. pag 3.

^z Ibid. cap 3 p 4.

Krodo in that country." There was a temple and image of Venus, with the three Graces, at Magdeburg upon the Elbe, which was also overturned. Aventinus^a says, he destroyed also an idol called Ermenful. Hildegrin caused a church to be built at Halberstadt, which for a while was his own residence. Another church was erected at Paderborn, and committed to the oversight of the bishop of Wurtzburg.

In the year 785, Wittekind being weary of his frequent vain rebellious attempts, sent one Albion, an Holsteiner, to Charles the Great, offering to wait on him, if he might do it with safety. This being granted, he offered as a catechumen to be instructed in the faith; within a little after he was baptized, and had some of his castles restored to him. Thus matters in Saxony were settled for a while, and churches were multiplied. Another bishopric was erected in the middle of Saxony, now Westphalia, at a place then called Mymengrode, but now Munster; where Ludger, a Frislander, the brother of Hildegrin, was ordained bishop: he was a person of a good character, and died in the year 809. Swibert hearing his countrymen the Saxons received the gospel, and that the harvest was great, and the labourers few, came out of England to contribute his assistance in that good work, and was made bishop of Werden^a. Willehad, an Englishman, was ordained bishop of Bremen in the year 788. Crantzius^b has a copy of the emperor Charlemagne's letters, for the erection and revenues of that see. Herimbert was made bishop of Minden, and Gunther of Middleheim.

^a *Annalium Bojorum*, pag. 319. ^b *Metropolis*, pag. 6. ^c *Ibid*, pag. 7, 8.

heim. The emperor had frequently honoured the city of Paderborn with his presence, and erected a church there, but did not make it a bishopric till the year 794. After this he passed the Elbe, and destroyed twelve heathenish idols in Hamburg, and introduced Christianity there. Being vexed with the rebellions and frequent tumults of the Saxons near that river, he transported ten thousand of them into Gaul. Crantz is of opinion^c, that they were sent into Flanders, which was then only a large forest and hunting field, with very few inhabitants. The last church he erected was at Hamburg, of which he made Heridagus priest, designing afterwards to create him metropolitan. This good emperor died in the year 814; he saw his son Lewis the Pious crowned before his death. Eginhart, one of his prime ministers of state, who wrote his life, gives a great character of him, as one of the best and greatest princes who swayed that sceptre since Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor.

It is recorded, that by this Charles the Great, the Christian religion was propagated in Hungary^d; for he chased the Hungarians to the mountains of Buda, where, being obliged by famine to surrender, he gave those who embraced the Christian religion not only their life, but also their liberty and estate: but such as refused this offer, and persisted in their abominable idolatry, he took their estates from them, sparing only their lives. When he had taken the city Sicambria, now called Buda, he exhorted all the inhabitants, "that, laying aside their idolatry, they would believe in Christ,

and

^c Metropolis pag. 14. ^d Bonfinius, Decad. 1. lib. 9. apud Magdeburg. Centuriatores, cent. 8. pag. 16.

and worship him." He erected a temple there, and caused priests to be ordained, to promote the interests of religion. Modestus, a clergyman, was sent by Thassilo to the Venedi, who dwelt near the source of the rivers Save and Drave; he erected churches among them. When he died, Clitomarus their captain sent for other teachers, and upon his desire, Madoldus and Variomarus came to him*. When the Venedi persecuted their chieftan for turning Christian, Thassilo supported him, that he might be able to punish the rebellious; and Vergilius sent him more teachers, viz. Hæmo, Reginoaldus, Marjoranus, Gotharius, Erchinobertus, Reginard, Augustine, and Guntharius, men of piety and learning, who explained the mysteries of our holy religion, and persuaded many of them to reject idolatry, and embrace Christianity.

Elerick, king of the Bulgarians, being in some popular tumult driven out of his country, made a right use of his misfortunes, and retired for safety to Constantinople, where the emperor Leo III. about the year 778, received him with much honour; and, according to his own request, ordered him to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, which he embraced; created him a patrician, and married him to a relation of the empress Irene.

Ingo, king of the Venedi, persuaded many of his nobles to embrace Christianity, by this stratagem: He made a great feast, to which he invited both his men of quality and commons; he caused the former to sit without doors, where he entertained

* Aventin. *Annalium Bojerum*, lib. 3. pag. 304. Hottinger *Hist. Eccl.* vol. 1. pag. 524.

tained them only with coarse beef, spoiled bread, and sour wine in earthen pitchers; but treated the latter with rich fare, where they drank the best of wines in cups of gold and silver. The nobility being highly offended at this contempt done them, he told them, "he regaled the commons in this sort, because they were baptized and holy persons, who would sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but as for them, they were wallowing in the vile puddle of heathenish superstition, which made them nauseous and unfavoury to God and all good men." Thus he caught them by guile, and persuaded them to be instructed and baptized^f.

About this time a great part of Spain was not only subdued by the Saracens, but also turned to infidelity^g; but Charles the Great recovered that country, from the frontiers of France to Corduba, and delivered the Christians from Mahometan oppression. Thus God ordered in his providence, that while the infidel Saracens gained ground in Asia and Africa, the Christian religion extended its conquests in Europe.

In the ninth century, the little principalities of the Saxon heptarchy being dissolved in England, Egbert king of the west Saxons reigned over that whole country peaceably; till, toward the end of his life, the descent of the Danes made him very uneasy. Since these Heathens were so great a scourge, not only to this island, but also to other parts of Europe for above two hundred years, 'tis not out of our road to give some account of them. As to their original, they were a collection of the
rabble

^f Hottinger Hist. Eccl. page. 525. vol. 1. ^g Cent. Magdeburg, cent. 8. page 18.

rabble of Germany, especially that part of it which lies upon the ocean and Baltic. Thus they were compounded of the Goths, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Frisians, &c.^b All agreed in laziness and barbarity, who gave their minds to nothing but thieving and robbing, having nothing of humanity in them; their business being rather to spoil and destroy, than to conquer: so that though they reduced the country to the lowest extremities of want, they looked like Pharaoh's lean cows, and were little richer for their acquisitions. They were so savage as to murder the people without distinction of age, sex, or condition, to burn the towns and villages, and lay all in blood and ashes; so as there was scarce any part of the land free from the fury and devastation of this enemy. Though these foreigners over-run the island in a terrible manner, yet their conquests were not so fatal as their manners. Their contempt of religion, and the barbarity of their temper, seemed to spread like a gangrene, and grow epidemical in the country. The liberties of war had debauched the Saxons, and made them more vicious than they were before. 'Tis true, they very far declined in their morals, before the invasion of the Danes, which, as Huntingdonⁱ and Hoveden^k report, was the cause these barbarous nations were let loose upon them. The English, say these authors^l, were degenerate to a great dissolution of manners; that for libertinism, treason, and rebellion, they were particularly infamous, so as nothing but virtue and religion were uncreditable, that

^b Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, book iii. pag. 153. ⁱ Huntingdon's Hist. lib. 5. in Prolog. ^k Hoveden's annals, pars prior, fol. 236. ^l Apud Collier, ubi supra, pag. 154.

that it was scarce safe for an honest man to live among them. To punish these impieties, God gave them up to the fury of the Danes, who, wherever they came, either murdered or made slaves of the inhabitants, rifled and burnt their monasteries and churches, and destroyed all monuments of learning and religion.

In the year 832, the Danes made their first descent upon the isle of Sheppey, and plundered it; but 'tis not my business to give an account of their wars and battles, which were many. In a little time, these Pagans over-run the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumberland, and the East Angles, burnt York, and plundered Nottingham, with a great many other considerable places. The famous monasteries of Groyland, Peterburgh, and Ely, were plundered and destroyed; the monks and nuns killed, the altars and monuments broken and defaced; the churches, cloisters and libraries burnt. They marched further into the country of the East Angles, and defeated earl Wittekul, king Edmund's general; upon the loss of the battle that pious king was taken prisoner, who refusing to comply with their terms, and renounce the Christian Religion, the Danes tied him to a stake, and shot him to death with their arrows. These, and other ravages of these barbarians, had ruined the commonwealth of learning^m, and frightened the muses out of the country. The enemy seemed to proclaim war against sense and understanding; they hated to see the English better polished than themselves; and as they plundered the monasteries

out

^m Afferius, p. 18. Vita Alfredi, lib. 3. p. 131. apud Collier Eccl. Hist. Britan. vol. 1. p. 165.

out of covetousness, so they burnt the libraries out of envy, that there might be nothing remaining to reproach their ignorance. Hence bishop Wulfing, in his letter, as it stands in a preface to Alfred's translation of St. Gregory's pastoral, says, "Indeed knowledge is so entirely vanished from the English, that there are very few on this side the Humber; that can either translate a piece of Latin, or so much as understand the liturgy in in their mother tongue." King Alfred, to cure this evil, invited a great many scholars of character to his court, as Joannes Scotus Erigena, our countryman, a great master of the languages and learning, who was murdered in the monastery of Malmesbury; he wrote strongly against the doctrine of Paschasius, who maintained, "That the body of Christ in the eucharist was the same that was born of the blessed Virgin." Grimbald, and other foreigners were also invited by this learned king, and there were some men of learning in the country itself. Alfred founded the university of Oxford, and departed this life in the year 890. As for Scotland, though the Danes made several descents upon our country, yet they were soon beat out of it, as appears by our historians^a.

If we look into other parts of Europe, Ludovicus Pius, son to Charles the Great, called by the French, Louis le Debonaire, succeeded his father in his kingdom, and in his care to promote Christianity. He removed a college of monks from Corbie on the river Somme in France, to

Corbie

^a Hector Boethius, Buchanan, &c.

Corbie on the Weser in Saxony. St. Ansgarius was then a youth full of divine love, says Crantz^{us}, which prompted him with zeal to preach the gospel, to the northern parts of the world, then under Paganism. An occasion soon offered. Harold king of Denmark, had been defeated by a competitor, he asked auxiliaries from the emperor Louis le Debonaire, which he was willing to grant, upon condition Harold would embrace the Christian religion, and be baptized; which the petitioner consenting to do, his wife and nobility there present, were baptized at Mentz. He sought preachers to instruct his people in the same religion. Ansgarius being thought a proper person for so difficult a work, willingly consented, saying, "Here am I, send me." Gaudibert went to assist him in that service.

While Harold, with the army, went to Jutland, Ansgarius, or Anschaire, penetrated into the innermost parts of the kingdom; the work of God did prosper in his hand, many being persuaded to believe on Christ, whom he and his fellow-labourer preached. In a few months they returned, and reported their success; others concurred to promote the same design, and went to the city Birca, or Berg in Swedeland, where many of the people believed, and were baptized. Harold and his army was again defeated and obliged to retire to Friseland, yet this did not discourage those zealous men; they staid two years in that country, and then returned to Corbie on the Weser. Anschaire being now in great reputation, the emperor caused him to be consecrated archbishop of
VOL. VIII. C Hamburg,

Hamburgh, subjecting all the northern kingdoms beyond the Elbe, to his inspection; establishing him Metropolitan, by the decree of the bishops and princes at Worms, in the year 833^p; which the Pope ratified, by giving him the pall, and constituting him his legate in the north. Suibert, bishop of Vherden, and Tanco his successor, both Scotsmen^q, were useful in this good work of converting these nations to the profession of Christianity: Rotilla, the sixth bishop of that see, was also an English or Scotsman; the annals do not clearly distinguish^r: many then, moved with singular devotion, came from far, to promote the interest of religion in these parts. But 'tis not my design to trouble the reader with the succession of bishops in that country, which, those who desire may find in Crantzii Metropolis. To return to Ansgarius, he visited sometimes the Danes, and at other times the Saxons on the other side of the Elbe, and persuaded many to embrace the faith; when he was hindered by persecution from preaching, he retired to the monastery of Turhold in Flanders, with his disciples. Ebo, archbishop of Rheims, but afterwards at Hildesheim, assisted him in preaching; but he, whether wearied of that work or weakened with bodily infirmity, substituted his nephew Gaudibert, and they consecrated Simon a bishop, and sent him to Swedeland, where Ansgarius had formerly paved his way. Lewis the Debonaire died in the year 840.

Lotharius his eldest son, who had been before chosen emperor, conceiving he ought to be sovereign over his brethren, took up arms for that purpose.

^p Crantz Metropolis, cap. 20. pag. 18.
cap. 29. pag. 23.

^q Ibid. pag. 19.

^r Ibid.

purpose; but they uniting their forces, gave him a total defeat at Fontenoy, June 25, 841; and being beaten a second time, the next year he came to an accommodation with them, retaining for his share Italy, Gallia Belgica, since called Lorrain, Provence, and Burgundy. Amidst these commotions, the Danes made an inroad into Germany, besieged Cologne, and burnt Hamburg. "That famous city, says Crantz¹, was either plundered or laid in ashes; the church, the monastery, the library, carefully collected by Ansgarius, were all consumed; Anschaire himself escaping with difficulty." Gaudibert and Simon were made to flee from Swedeland, by persecution, Vitardus, his chaplain, and some others, suffered martyrdom. For seven years Swedeland wanted preachers. Heigarius, governor of Birca, was the only person who supported Christianity. Crantz says², that by his gift of miracles and holy exhortations, he saved thousands of Pagans. Hamburg being destroyed, where Anschaire had been bishop sixteen years, he was made bishop of Bremen, where he continued eighteen years³. From thence he made another visit to Denmark, where he persuaded king Eric to embrace Christianity, and there he erected a church, at a place called Sliasnuigh, on the lake Slia, which church is called to this day by his name. The king giving liberty to every body in his kingdom, to own themselves Christians, a great multitude of heathens believed, and were baptized. Ansgarius returned to Bremen, and thence made several visits to Denmark. He found difficulty to prevail with any body to go

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¹ Crantz Metropolis, cap. 33. ² Ibidem pag. 27. ³ Ibidem lib. 1. pag. 29.

to Sweden, and therefore, having obtained letters of recommendation from king Eric, he adventures thither himself. At Birca, or Berg, he met with Olaus, king of that country, whom, by good providence, he found so favourable, as to allow a church to be built there*, and every body that pleased to be baptized; he committed the care of advancing the work of God in this country, to Erimbert a presbyter, and returned to his diocese. Pope Nicholas united the bishoprics of Hamburgh and Bremen into one, in favour of Ansgarius, to whom he gives an ample character, as appears by the bull itself, at large inserted in Crantz's Metropolis⁷. The Normans and Danes, about this time, made great havoc in France, ruined the churches, and expelled the priests. Eric, the younger king of Denmark, when he first came to the government, raged against the Christians: but Anschaire addressed himself to him, and minding him of the piety, whether of his father or uncle, my author knows not², to whom he succeeded, he so pacified him, as he embraced Christianity, and ordered all his people to do the like. After this, and other acts of this kind, wherein he shewed great concern to propagate religion, Anschaire died in the year of our Lord 865³. Rembert was ordained bishop of Hamburgh in his room; he ventured upon many dangers both by sea and land, to promote the interest of the gospel. Notwithstanding all these endeavours to convert the northern nations of Denmark and Sweden, the greater part of them remained Heathens, and made many incursions into Germany, laying the country waste wherever they came: Ma-

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* Crantz Metropolis, pag. 30. 7 Lib. 1. cap. 38, 39. 2 Ibidem cap. 41. 3 Ibid. cap. 42. pag. 33.

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ny Christians were ruined by them. At Ebekstorp these barbarous people committed great abuses; Rembert did all he could to support the Christians who remained, and charitably to relieve the prisoners; he died in the year 888. This is the sum of what I find in Crantz, of propagating Christianity in this century; he observes^b, the church of Rome did not then, as afterward in his time, assume a power over the privileges of all the churches, but the Metropolitans did then every thing in their own province.

The people of Bohemia continued for a long time Heathens; there were only some few of them at first converted to Christianity. The emperor Lewis the second, in the year 846, having reduced Hungary to his obedience, marched his army against the Bohemians, whom he subdued; fourteen of their nobility, with their families, were baptized^c; these were the small beginnings of their church. About the year 861, Michael the Greek emperor at Constantinople, did send Methodius to preach the gospel in that country; and a little after, Cyrillus came upon the same errand, who did instruct that people in the Christian religion more fully. In the year 894, Borzyvoi, duke of Bohemia, having occasion to stay some time with Swatopluczi king of Moravia, was by good providence instructed in our holy religion, and baptized at Olmutz, with twenty-three palatines of his country^d: He returned home with joy, carrying Methodius along with him, as an apostle, to convert his subjects; where a seed was sown by the preaching of the gospel, that soon ripened to a harvest: Ludomilla

^b Crantz Metropolis, lib. 2. cap. 26. pag. 64. ^c Regensvölsch Hist. Eccl. Slavonicarum, lib. 1. pag. 7. ^d Hottinger Hist. Eccl. vol. 1. pag. 656.

Ludomilla the duke's wife, with a great multitude of his nobility and people, being baptized; the idol Krosma, which they before worshipped, being also removed. Duke Borzyvoi, in abundance of places in his country, erected churches and schools. Some authors tell us, "That the Bohemians did earnestly desire Methodius, not to perform divine service to them in Latin, which they did not understand, but in their native Bohemian or Sclavonian language." He advised Cyrillus his colleague, then at Rome, of this question, and submitted it to the determination of Pope Nicholas. When it was debated in the consistory, they say a voice was heard, *Every spirit shall praise God, and every tongue shall confess to him.* Upon which the Pope granted to the Sclavonians, to have divine service in their own language. Indeed 'tis inconceivable, how divine service, in an unknown tongue, however it be practised by the church of Rome, can edify any body; far less can it edify or allure Heathens and strangers, or persuade them to fall in love with our holy religion.

By the pious care of Lewis the Debonaire, it is said, the Huns and Avars, who then inhabited Dacia on the other side of the Danube, opposite to Mæsia, were persuaded to embrace the Christian religion; and that Capanus their king was baptized in the beginning of this century.

There were also small beginnings of the conversion of the Poles, in this age. Some travellers, who went into Bohemia and Moravia, brought the Christian

^s ^e Aeneas Sylvius Hist. Bohem. Regenvolfsei ut supra, pag. 8. Catalogus testium Veritatis, lib. 9. pag. m. 926. ^f Aventin Annal. Bojorum, pag. 348, 423. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. vol. 1. pag. 660. Cent. Magdeburg Cent. 9. pag. 10.

Christian religion home with them into Poland &c. Christians had a free access to the prince's court, and no body is said to have been punished by the heathenish Poles, for professing Christianity; but the national conversion of that people was not till the following century.

The country which is now called Bulgaria, became Christian in the primitive times; but about the year of our Lord 500, it was over-run by the Scythians, who, expelling the Christians, made that nation heathenish: yet about the year 870, they were again converted to Christianity^a. In a synod at Constantinople, there was a long debate, if the Bulgarians, whose ambassadors were then present, should be subject to the see of Rome, or to that of Constantinople? At last, tho' Basilus protested against it, they were subjected to the see of Rome. Therefore, Pope Adrian, at the people's desire, sent them three eminent men, to teach them ecclesiastic order, who are called by Platina^b, Sylvester the Subdean, Leopardus Anconitanus, and Dominicus Tarvisinus; who managed matters according to the Pope's desire. But the Bulgarians, in a little time, were prevailed upon by the patriarch of Constantinople, to expel the Latin, and receive Greek priests in their room; which occasioned many debates between the Greek and Latin churches. Zonaras says^c, "The sister of the prince of Bulgaria being taken prisoner by the Greeks, was baptized, and returning home, persuaded her brother to embrace the Christian religion; which he would not consent to, till be-

^a Regenvolsii Hist. Eccl. Slavonicarum, lib. 1. pag. 8. ^b Hottinger Hist. Eccl. vol. 1. pag. 657. ^c De vitis Pontificum in Adrian 2. pag. 122. ^d Annalium, tome 4. pag. 175.

ing vexed with famine, pestilence and other calamities, he hoped our Saviour might afford him relief, which, upon application to him, he found; and therefore he sent for a bishop to Constantinople, by whom he was instructed in the Christian religion, and baptized." The Heathenish priests raged; and complained of innovations in their way of worship, and stirred up the people to rebellion; but the prince gained a complete victory over his rebellious subjects; which he improved to so good purpose, as to persuade them to embrace Christianity.

I proceed to the tenth century, where we find little in the history of England, that concerns the affair we are now upon. About the year 980, the heathenish Danes landed at Southampton, ravaged the country, and carried off most of the inhabitants; and soon after, the isle of Thanet was overrun by them. Near the same time, the city and country of Chester was harassed, by a descent of the Norwegians¹. King Ethelred finding himself embarrassed by the Danes landing in several places, made use of an improper expedient; he purchased peace, by giving the enemy ten thousand pounds to retire. This was the wrong metal, says Malmfbury^m; for when these Barbarians perceived the country rich and cowardly, they became more insolent and demanding. They over-run and plundered Northumberland; tho' defeated in a battle, they soon recovered strength, and sat down before London; though forced to draw off, yet they harassed the country at discretion. The king despairing to hinder their progress by force, gave them

¹ Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Century x. page 281. ^m De Gestis Anglorum, lib. 2. fol. 35. apud Collier ubi supra.

them sixteen thousand pounds to stop their ravage, and desired their King, Anlaf, to come to court, giving hostages for his security. While Anlaf staid at the English court, he was persuaded to turn Christian, and to promise, never more to return to England. But this proved no lasting relief, Denmark was always pouring in new adventurers and fresh forces; Devonshire felt the fury of the invasion, the country was ruined, the monasteries battered down, and the city of Exeter laid in ashes. After these devastations, the enemy reembarked, and landed in Kent, harassed the country, burnt Canterbury, and made a martyr of archbishop Ephegus: in short, as Malmesbury reports, sixteen of the thirty-two counties in England, lay in a great measure at the enemies mercy; the war was followed with famine, and the English gave the enemy yet greater presents of money to withdraw their forces.

Though there were some dawnings of the conversion of the Danes to Christianity, in the former century, as has been already narrated, yet a work of this kind is not soon perfected, if an apostolic spirit be wanting. We shall find some further progress in this affair, in this age; but they were a very rugged people, and difficult to be managed: for about the year 913, these Barbarians joined with the Vandals, and made an incursion into Hamburg, demolished the church, and scattered the Christians; which was the fourth time they ruined that city, since it became Christian, as Crantz observesⁿ. The first was in the time of Charlemagne; the second when Ansgarius

ⁿ Metropolis, lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 69.

garius was made to flee to Ramsöla; the third while Rembert presided over the Christians there; and now was the fourth time, when they treated the Christian Churches with all manner of barbarity and contempt; as they did twice in the following century, viz. in the years 1000 and 1066^o. Gormo, king of Denmark, did what he could to extirpate Christianity out of his country; he banished all the priests, and killed many of them by cruel torments^p. Henry, the first of that name, emperor of Germany, surnamed the Fowler, having reduced Arnould, duke of Bavaria, and overcome the Hungarians, Bohemians and Sclavonians, entered Denmark with a powerful army, in the year 931, and so terrified Gormo, as he was willing to be at peace with him upon any terms. Unni, a venerable bishop at Hamburg, took hold of this occasion to promote religion, where he found it not so easy to bring over Gormo to Christianity, though he was married to Tirra, a religious woman he had got in England; but by his preaching, exhortations and good conduct, he gained his son Harold the young prince, to be zealous for our holy religion. Having ordained bishops and priests in Denmark, and instructed and edified many with whom some seeds of Christianity were remaining, he sailed to Birca in Swedeland; where, from the time of Angarius, for seventy years, they had almost no body to instruct them, except a little time Rembert had been among them. When Unni had done all he could for the instruction of this barbarous people, he died among them in the year 936^o. Adaldagus succeeded

^o Crantzii Metropolis, lib. 3. cap. 3.
cap. 6. & cap. 16. p. 78

^p Ibid cap. 5. p. 71.

^q Ibid.

succeeded him in the bishopric of Hamburg; he had formerly preached in Denmark, and was admitted to familiar access with king Harold: the Danes refusing to perform the conditions of peace they had promised to king Henry, Otho the First, his successor, marched an army against them; having obtained the victory, king Harold engaged as one of the conditions of peace, to establish Christianity in his kingdom; his wife Eunichild, with his son Sueno, were baptized; the emperor called his son Zuen Otto^r: three bishoprics were erected in Denmark; one Harold was ordained bishop of Sleswick, Liadag of Ry-pen, and Rembrand of Arhusen^r, to whom the Danish islands were also subjected: this was a beginning of a Christian church in Denmark, which remains even to this day. Crantz says^r, That Adaldag sat bishop of Hamburg 54 years, even to the time of the Emperor Otho the Third; that he ordained a great many more bishops for Denmark, whose names he mentions, but the seats to which they were fixed, are not upon record, since they went from place to place preaching the gospel, and instructing souls where they might have prospect of success. It seems these bishops were very laborious. Odincar the elder and younger went to Sweden and Norway, to promote the kingdom of Christ. Zueno or Zuen Otto, the son of Harold, tho' baptized in his youth, yet when he came to the kingdom, persecuted the Christians, but was defeated in battle by Erick. In his time, the gospel made some progress in Norway, Olaus the son of king Truton being baptized;

^r Crantzii Metropolis, p. 79.

^r Ibid.

Ibid. cap. 38, p. 93.

tized^u; preachers were also sent to Swedeland. Upon the death of Erick, Zueno again got possession of the kingdom of Denmark, and was more favourable to the Christians. About this time the gospel went to Pomeran^u, and those places of Germany, that lie upon the Baltic sea; but that country was not then by far so populous, nor had so great cities, as at this day.

In Poland there were some small beginnings of Christianity in the former century, but the national conversion of that kingdom, was in the tenth age. Miceflaus, king of the Poles, having married Dambrowka, a Christian princess, daughter to Boleslaus, duke of Bohemia; when she was brought home to Guesna, with a great retinue, Miceflaus himself embraced Christianity, and was baptized in the year 965. After this, he applied himself to promote the interest of our holy religion, both in Poland and Silesia, which last was then part of his kingdom. He took care to build, adorn and enrich churches in cities and villages, every one being more zealous than another, to advance so good a work. Some of these churches, says Regenvolcius, who wrote in the seventeenth century^x, remain to this day, as one at Lublin, another at Sendomir, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, adorned with pictures, after the fashion of the Greeks, who were the first preachers of the Christian religion in that kingdom, and also in Bohemia and Moravia; and after, Cyrillus and Methodius explained religion according to the rites of the Greek church, from which regions many ecclesiastics were brought into Poland. It

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^u Crantzii Metropolis, lib. 3. cap. 44. p. 98. ^u Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 30. p. 88.

^x Hist. Eccl. Slavonicarum, Trajecti 1652. p. 8, 9.

was then the custom of the Poles, that when the gospel was read by the priests at the altar, they drew their swords half out of the scabbards, as declaring they would defend their holy profession at all hazards; and when the people did answer, *Glory to the Lord*, they put them up again: which custom long remained in that country. The first reformer of the church in Poland was called Woyciech; he was the second bishop of Prague in Bohemia, was educated in the Greek church, and became the apostle and teacher of the Poles; he went to preach the gospel in Prussia, where he was murdered by those Barbarians, April 23d, 997. Mieslaus, the first Christian king in Poland, died in the year 999. The religion of the Poles was more conformable to the gospel, than to the rites, traditions, and customs contrary to the word of God, afterward introduced by the church of Rome.

In this age the Christian religion was introduced into Moscovy: 'tis indeed alledged, that Andrew the Apostle, leaving Greece, sailed up the river Borysthenes, and came to Novogrod, and there preached the gospel. But Christianity was afterwards extirpated out of Moscovy, by Pagans who made themselves masters of the country, till, in the year 989^y, Prince Woldimar, then duke of Russia, gave the Pagans a signal overthrow, and reunited several provinces to his own crown, that had been dismembered from it: he became so famous for his great achievements, that Basilus and Constantine Porphyrogeniti, emperors of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to congratulate his success:

^y Crull's present State of Moscovy, printed at London, 1698, vol. 1. chap. 2.

cells by their conversation and instructions, and by the marriage of Anna, sister to these emperors, in the year 996, he was induced to embrace the Christian faith. John Curopolata, who wrote a part of the Byzantine history, in the eleventh century, as also Cedrenus and Zonaras, who wrote after him, attribute the conversion of the Russians to a miracle, performed by a bishop that was sent thither by the patriarch of Constantinople, to instruct and baptize the people. These infidels having objected to him, that since God preserved Daniel's companions in the fiery furnace, why might not, with the same, or more reason, the Bible be preserved by God's power, from being consumed in the fire? The bishop having told them, he was assured he could not ask any thing of God by prayer, but what he would obtain, threw the Bible into a great fire made for that purpose, where it remained till the fire was all spent, and was taken out as entire and untouched, as when it was cast in. At which, Woldimar being moved, abolished idolatry, and in the room thereof, planted Christianity in all his territories.

The Russians deduce the origin of their religion from the Greek church, though they differ in many rites from them; they shew abundance of respect to the Greeks, which the poor Grecian monks, who frequently come from other parts into Moscovy, know how to improve to their own advantage. They found their religion upon the books of the Old and New Testament; they do not bring the whole Bible into the church, though they are allowed to read it at home, but they carry

ry only the New Testament, and some chosen places of the Psalms and prophets to the church. About sixty years ago, says my author^a, they got the Bible translated into the Russian language; whereas they pretend they follow the footsteps of the seventy interpreters. They have also a book, they call, *The history of the gospel*, but adulterated with fables. As to the explication of the holy Scriptures, they follow Cyril bishop of Jerusalem, John Damascen, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ephraim the Syrian. The creed of Athanasius is the confession of their faith; but they have received a great many superstitious rites, and place the centre of their devotion rather in outward ceremonies, than in the internal part of religion. They pay their veneration to the Virgin Mary, the Evangelists and apostles, and to a great number of other saints, not only as intercessors, but as co-operators, says the same author^a, of their salvation; for they pay to the saints and images all the honour due to God Almighty. There is never a family, how small soever, in Moscovy, but what hath its tutelar saint's image, to whom their ignorant people pay their daily devotion; and all the religious instruction they give to their children, consists in no more, than to stand up with a great respect and say their prayers before these images. As to the rest of the religion of the Moscovites, they place a great excellency in good works, which they believe to be meritorious, as building of monasteries and churches, giving alms, &c. In baptism, they dip their children in cold water, use godfathers and godmothers, and baptize much after the rites of

^a Crull's present state of Moscovy, printed at London 1698, vol. I. cap. 11. ^a Crull's present state of Moscovy.

of the Greek church, whom they also imitate in administering the Lord's supper; they mix warm water with wine, according to the council of Constantinople, signifying the water that came forth with the blood from our Saviour's side; they give both kinds at once to communicants^b. Their fasts and festivals, for number and manner of observation, are much the same with the Greek church, only the Russians have rather more of them. There are few days in the year but what are dedicated to one saint or another. For these fifty years past they are more strict in observing fast-days and Sundays than before; for by edicts from the patriarch, they are not to open shops, or sell aquavitæ on those days. They do not make use in their service of any sermons or instructions to their auditors, but only read passages out of the Bible, and some homilies; yet go to church thrice a-day. They suffer not any images that are carved or graven either in churches or houses, because these are forbidden in the decalogue; only they use images painted with oil upon wood, not done by foreigners, but by men of their own religion, who have no good skill in limning: however, they have abundance of these images in their churches, with wax candles burning before them, and are at pains to learn to cross themselves by art when they come near them. Those of their churches that are of stone, are all round and vaulted, because, say they, such are liker to heaven, and they have a cross on the top. They allow no strangers, nor a dog to come within their churches; if they do, great care is taken

^b See Harris's complete Collection of Travels, vol. 2. pag. 238, & seq.

taken to purify the temple. They are most severe in their abstinence and mortifications on fast-days and Lent; but when these are over, make great debauches, as also in the first week of long Lent.

The Muscovite hierachy consists of one patriarch, who resides in the city of Moscow, four metropolitans, seven archbishops, and one bishop, with a great number of archdeacons, protopopes and priests. The patriarch has the same, if not a greater authority than the pope in the Latin church: Such is his power in all matters of religion, that he reforms whatever he thinks prejudicial to religion or good manners, without giving any account to the Czar; yet not so, but his orders must be put in execution by the Czar's commands. The patriarch of Constantinople had heretofore the nomination of the patriarch of Moscovy, till, in process of time, he had only the confirmation; at present he has lost both, and the patriarch is chosen by the Czar and the prelates. The Moscovites pay great respect to the priest's Calotte, tho', when they are angry, they will pull off the Calotte and cudgel the priest, and when this is done, put it on again with great respect; and they are liable to no other punishment than if they had cudgelled a laick. The patriarch, metropolitans, archbishops, and the bishop, are not allowed to marry as long as they continue in that dignity; but the protopopes, popes, and temple priests are not only allowed, but obliged to marry once, and that a maid, not a widow. A priest, after his wife dies, is not allowed to administer the sacrament, or assist at noon service, or bless a marriage; only to assist at morning and evening service; neither can he marry a second time, unless he lay

down his cassock and calotte, and turn laick. There are a great many monasteries all over Moscovy, both for men and women, in city and country; beside the Anchorites, who build their chapels on highways, and live in woods like hermits, subsisting only on alms from travellers, following the rule of St Basil. The liberal endowments of monasteries is now in some measure curbed; for those who go to them, are allowed only to take a certain part of their estates with them, and leave the rest to their heirs; they do not live so close in them, but they come often abroad, and follow the employments of other peasants. Poverty, old age, infirmities, and domestic contests, are the chief inducements of those that embrace this life, few chusing it out of devotion. And it is no wonder, since most of them, according to the general education of the Moscovites, can scarce read or write; not one in ten can say the Lord's Prayer, and those of them who are acquainted with the Creed and Ten Commandments, are looked on as men of great learning. But the present Czar or emperor of Russia, is endeavouring to oblige his subjects to make improvements in knowledge and learning, of which we may hear more afterward^c. So far concerning the conversion of the Moscovites to Christianity, and of their religion.

In this century 'tis recorded, that Methodius, archbishop of Moravia, converted Worzyvoi, the last pagan duke of Bohemia, with his wife Ludomilla, and that they were baptized in the year 905^d. Liptineus king of Bohemia became a Christian

^c Near the end of chap. 8.
10. cap. 2 pag. 8.

^d Shedelius apud Cent. Magdeburg, cent.

tian in the year 921^e, and promoted our religion in his dominions. The emperor Otho restored the Christian religion in Slavonia, and many churches were with great diligence erected there^f.

Eric Stenchil, king of Sweden, took care to enlarge the kingdom of Christ in his dominions. Providence blessed his endeavours; for 'tis recorded^g, that while a heathenish priest was offering sacrifice, he was struck with blindness, so as he could not see to go on with his work, but was obliged to acknowledge the justice of God, and turning to Christ, miraculously received his sight. Thankful for so great a deliverance, he rejected Heathenish idolatry, and became a preacher of the gospel; the people were so much affected, that with great zeal, multitudes embraced Christianity, and were baptized. King Eric obtained two other teachers from the archbishop of Bremen, Adalvard and Steven, men famous for piety and learning, to whom he committed the care of the churches. Thus in a little time the church of Christ increased, and heathenish idolatry was extirpated in that kingdom; especially since Olaus, surnamed Schot-Konig, did not only imitate his father Eric, but did even exceed him in piety and zeal for religion.

The conversion of the Normans in this century, deserves also to be noticed. They were a people who came from the North, as their name imports; having, with their piracies, infested the sea-coasts of several countries, at last they landed in France, in

^e Shedelius apud Cent. Magdeburg, Cent. 10. cap. 2. pag. 8. ^f Ibid. pag. 10. ^g Olai magni Hist. Goth. apud Cent. Magdeburg, ubi supra, pag. 9 —

in the reign of Charles the Bald, and dreadfully wasted and ruined that country for eighty years, obliging the French to pay tribute; and these sums of money served only to allure them the more to make their incursions. At length, they got possession of Neustria or Normandy; they seized Roan, and laid siege to Paris, so affrighting the inhabitants of that great city, that they made it a part of their public prayers, "That God would please to deliver them from the fury of the Normans." The bishops of Rheims and Roan thought the best way to tame this savage enemy was, to persuade them to embrace Christianity. Some few of them were baptized, but they soon returned to their old infidelity. King Charles the Simple made a treaty with them, and gave his daughter Giesla in marriage to Rollo their commander, and bestowed upon him the province of Normandy, with the title of a Duke, upon condition of doing homage for it to the king of France. This was done in the year 912. Rollo submitted himself to be instructed and baptized by Franco, archbishop of Rheims, taking the name of Robert. A great part of the Normans followed the example of their leader, and embraced Christianity, and with the religion received also the language and manners of the French^b. The Normans have so great an esteem for their first Duke, that in any strait they seem to call him to their assistance, in a common exclamation, *Ha Row*, used only by themselves.

I proceed now to the eleventh century. About the

^b Flodoardus in *Rhemenſi Hiſtoria*, lib. 4. *Francorum Annales* apud Spanhemium in *Hiſt. Chriſtiana*, col. 1422. Morrey's Dictionary on the word Normandy.

the year 1001, Christianity made a considerable progress in the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, by the assistance of some English priests, who, at the desire of Olaf or Olaus king of Sweden, were sent by Ethelred king of England. The heads of the mission were Sigefrid, archdeacon of York, Eschil, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard¹. These holy men were very successful in their undertaking, answered the king's expectation, and made idolatry give way wherever they came.

The Danes made many ravages in England in the beginning of this century, even though many of them now professed Christianity; particularly upon the taking of Canterbury, in the year 1011, where Ephegus the bishop suffered martyrdom, which is very pathetically described by Collier². But about the year 1042, the country was cleared of these oppressors, and after this, was no more troubled with invasions or depredations of Pagans.

Before I leave England, allow me to observe, That William of Normandy, by his victory over king Harold, in the year 1066, procured at one blow the crown of England, and the surname of *Conqueror*. After this Norman conquest and downward, Christianity was still kept up in that nation; they never degenerated into heathenism or infidelity; though king John is said to have offered to forsake Christianity and become Mahometan, if he could obtain assistance in his designs from Mirammumalim the Moor, the great king of Africa, Morocco and Spain: but it was a very corrupt

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¹ Adam Bremen, lib. 2. cap. 40. Olai magni Histor. Goth. lib. 17. cap. 20. apud Collier's Hist. of Britain, vol. 1. pag. 206. ² Collier's History of Britain, vol. 1. pag. 209, 210.

rupt Christianity that prevailed in these times, religion was full of superstition, idolatry, and ignorance; ecclesiastical tyranny and cruelty prevailed. Yet even then, when things were at the worst, there wanted not some who had brighter and more scriptural notions of things divine, and were zealous for pure and scriptural worship; particularly in the reign of Edward III. between the years 1370, and 1380, that great man Wickliff, was raised up by God in that land, to oppose the corruptions of the church of Rome; and he had many followers, who were called Lollards, by way of contempt, yet continued down to the time of the Reformation, both in England and Scotland. They were so inflamed with zeal, that no severities used against them could be able to extirpate them; several of our princes and great men favoured them, in opposition to the Pope, and his tyrannical encroachments, of which they were weary. The scripture was translated into our mother tongue, and read by many; and such seeds of sacred truth were dispersed, and sown in various quarters of the land, as sprang up many years after, and helped to produce a plentiful harvest, when Almighty God, to shew forth his glory, brought about the Reformation from Popery; the benefit of which is yet enjoyed, and may posterity after us do the same for ever. These things happened in different ages.

To return to the propagation of Christianity, and overthrow of Paganism in the eleventh century: Albert Crantz informs us¹, That Canutus king of Denmark returning conqueror out of England,

¹ Metropolis, lib. 4. cap. 3. pag 103.

England, brought several bishops from that country, of whom he made Bernard bishop in Schonen, Gerbrand in Zealand, and Reiner in Flinland. The bishop of Schonen may be the same Bernard spoke of before, but the rest of the names differ. Thus Christianity did increase in Denmark, tho' Crantz observes^m, they sometimes apostatized, as in the year 1066, but were again restored to the profession of our holy religion.

Unni, bishop of Hamburg, found many relics of Paganism in his diocese; the people yet worshipped in groves: all which he removed. Crantz saysⁿ, That Albert, archbishop of Hamburg, ordained and sent bishops to the remote northern countries of Iceland and Groenland, saying, "The harvest is great, the labourers few; pray the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers into his vineyard."

We have formerly observed some beginnings of a Christian church in Hungary in the eighth century, and it is also reported, that king Geyza founded some churches there in the tenth age; yet the nobility and great men adhered to the worship of heathenish idols, which was publicly practised. But our Redeemer, in this century, did, with an outstretched arm, make conquest in that kingdom, raising up pious rulers, and a zealous clergy to promote his interests. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, with his companions, did sow the seed of the Word in many places of that nation; he instructed and baptized king Stephen^o. Astric with his disciples erected a monastery near the foot of the iron mines; he opened a school, and set many teachers

^m Metropolis lib. 4. cap. ult. pag. 132. ⁿ Ibidem lib. 5. cap. 18. pag. 150, 151. ^o Cent. Magdeburg, cent. XI. cap. 2. pag. 9.

teachers to work. Bonifacius preached in the lower Hungary. King Stephen, by strict laws, commanded idolatry to be abolished, and Christianity to be publicly professed, ordering severe punishments against blasphemers and contumacious opposers of religion; he erected several bishoprics, which are said to have been confirmed by the Pope's authority. In all this the king was much encouraged by his Queen Giesla, the daughter of the emperor Henry II. She was a zealous Christian, and stirred up her husband to promote our religion through his whole dominions; so as about the year 1010, the body of that people began to be instructed and baptized, and many churches and monasteries were founded and erected. In Alba Regalis a church was built to the Virgin Mary; for the superstition of the church of Rome did then very far prevail. The monastery of Peter and Paul was set up at Buda. Giula the prince of Transylvania being defeated and taken prisoner, the people, either by force, or willingly, professed Christianity; the prince himself, with his wife and children, were baptized, and set at liberty. The Bulgarians were also subdued by King Stephen, and persuaded to profess Christianity^p. Misca, a Duke in Poland, with his people, were about the same time converted. The people of Misnia were persuaded to receive the gospel by Wilbert, bishop of Mersburg, about the year 1007^q.

In the reign of Andrew king of Hungary, some Hungarians shewed their inclination to return to Paganism; but the king, by a just edict, did command all his subjects not to desert Christianity, which

^p Bonfinius Dec. 2. lib. 9. apud Magdeburgenses, Cent. XI. cap. 1.

^q Chronicon Mersburgense ibidem.

which they had embraced under the reign of Stephen his predecessor, and gave orders to build and repair churches and monasteries. In the year 1047 King Stephen was canonized a saint; the church of Rome have many fabulous stories about him in their legends.

Since we are now upon the progress of Christianity, by the decay of infidelity, 'tis not far out of our road, to observe the triumphs of Christians against Mahometans. The Saracens had got footing in Sicily, and their governors, who were called Emirs, maintained themselves at Palermo, from 827, to 1070, when they were driven thence by the Normans, under the conduct of Robert, Guichard and Roger. The last of these erected a little monarchy there, he was father of William I. surnamed *The Bad*; his daughter Constance transferred the kingdom to the emperor Henry VI. her husband: but I am not to meddle with the various revolutions in that island. In the year 969, the emperor Otho the Great, did beat the Saracens out of Italy, and the isle of Crete, now called Candia; greater advantages had been gained over them, if the emperors at Constantinople had improved their opportunity, but their ambition and intestine commotions did extinguish all endeavours for the public good. The Genoese and Pisans recovered Sardinia from these infidels. In the 11th century, the Saracen kingdom of Cordova began to decline and vanish, two hundred and sixty-nine years after it was founded. The kings of Castile and Portugal prospered against these infidels, who being divided into many little kingdoms, were

^r Vide Spanhemii filii Hist. Christianam. in Folio, col. 1512, —

were more easily ruined: So as the Christians, about the year 1150, did recover out of their hands the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, Carthage, Alicant, Cordova, Sevil, with some other considerable places; and nothing remained to the Moors in Spain, but only the kingdom of Granada, which they retained till the fifteenth century, when they were chased out of it by Ferdinand the Great, or the Catholic.

I don't design to insist upon the history of the Holy War, by which the Saracen empire sustained a mighty shock: only upon this head shall observe, that Peter the hermit, a clergyman in Picardy, having travelled to Jerusalem, and being affected with the lamentable state of Christians there, groaning under the oppression of Saracens, and that the holy city, and sepulchre of our Lord, were in the hands of infidels; he so represented the matter to the pope, and he to the Christian princes in Europe, promising "pardon of sins, and entrance into paradise, to all who would undertake to recover these holy places from the hands of infidels;" as incredible numbers were raised over all Europe, who with innumerable hazards and losses went into Palestine, where Godfrey of Bulloign took Jerusalem in the year 1099, and possessed it a considerable time; but all his successors, and all Christian princes, were driven from it in the year 1298. During these two hundred years, 'tis almost incredible what numbers of Christians perished by sword, famine, pestilence, and other calamities, in that, to call it no worse, so ill-concerted expedition; and in the end, all their conquests turned to nothing. M. Chevreau^r calls the

the number of those who lost their lives in that war, on the Christian side, five hundred thousand; though, if we enter into a detail of particulars, I conceive there will be found a great deal more. Nothing but ruin could be expected, when the Christians left the body of the Mahometan kingdoms behind them, and had no communication with their friends in the west, but by a long tract of sea; when princes left their own kingdoms to the pope to exercise his tyranny over them, and did not aim to ruin the infidels, but only to recover some holy places about Jerusalem, to favour papal superstition. Thus, I have at once given a short view of some events concerning these Mahometan infidels, though they happened in different centuries.

There were still some parts of Europe, where the dregs of Paganism remained, which were in a great measure removed in the twelfth century. The inhabitants of the isle of Rugen, in the Baltic sea, on the coast of Pomerania, near Stralsund, had professed Christianity about the year 813, and received baptism, after they were defeated by Eric king of Denmark; but they relapsed again into Paganism, and continued in that apostasy till about the year 1168¹. Woldimar king of Denmark having reduced their garrisons to his obedience, and subdued their island, he obliged them to renounce idolatry, to set all Christians who were their prisoners at liberty, and to receive priests, who should dispense to them the mysteries of the Christian religion, according to the rites of the church of Denmark. Jaremarus their prince be-
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¹Crantzius in *Vandalia*, lib. 5. cap. 15, 16. Cent. magd. Cent. 12. cap. 3. p. 13.

ing baptized, taught his people the principles of religion, and the body of that barbarous island was brought to some more sense of piety.

Eric king of Swedeland having subdued Finland, did promote Christianity in that country^u; it seems these northern princes, now that they were become Christians themselves, had such a zealous regard to religion, as to propagate it among others who continued in Paganism.

Livonia being subdued by Christian Princes, was converted to the faith by Meinardus, about the year 1186; he was ordained by the archbishop of Bremen, and went with some merchants of Lubeck into Livonia, where, having fixed his habitation, he taught the people the doctrine of religion^x. Bertholdus, about the year 1190, was very useful to promote the conversion of that country; he was abbot of the Livonian knights; which order was instituted to promote the conversion of these Barbarians^y, who being dull and obstinate, 'tis said the rough way of the sword, that the knights used, was more effectual than the remonstrances of the priests. This order was united to the Teutonic, or the knights of Prussia, in 1234, and was abolished by Sigismund, king of Poland, in the year 1587.

The country near Lubeck, is recorded to have been converted to Christianity by Vicelinus, a priest, sent thither by the Archbishop of Bremen, about the year 1134^z.

Boleslaus duke of Poland, having defeated the Pomeranians, with great slaughter, carried many of them into captivity; others, who promised to embrace

^u Cent. Magdeb. cent. 12 cap. 3 p. 13. ^x Hottinger Hist Eccl. vol 3. Sec 12. sect 3. p. 234. Crantz. Vandalia, lib. 6. cap. 6. ^y Great Historical Dictionary, 1694, in Livonia. ^z Crantzii Metropolis, cap. 11,—14 p. 170,—172.

embrace Christianity, were left with their prince at home; and Otho, bishop of Bamberg^a, preached the gospel to them, which was effectual, thro' the blessing of God, to their conversion. The Magdeburgick Centuriators^b, have the copy of the letter of Boleslaus, to this bishop, encouraging him in this work, and fix the time thereof about the year 1125.

Crantzius tells us^b, "That the Vandals made a lamentable apostasy into Paganism, which continued eighty-four years, that is, from 1066, to 1150, when they returned to Christianity, and never again made an entire defection from it." The same author informs us^c, "That about this time, Benno, bishop of Mecklenburg, found Nicholus, prince of that country, with his sons, serving heathenish idols, whom he endeavoured to reform, and persuade to embrace our holy religion." I conceive we need not think it strange that some of these people apostatised, when we consider that many of them who then embraced our religion, were not instructed therein, nor had ever tasted the sweet power and efficacy thereof upon their own spirit; and were gained to abandon heathenish idols, and profess the truth, by such rugged methods as we have heard of, rather than by the sweet calm voice of the gospel, rationally enlightening the mind, and persuading the soul to embrace our Redeemer.

In the thirteenth century, almost all Europe, and many other parts of the world, had then received the Christian faith, yet in some places our religion made a further progress. Ferdinand III. king of Spain, did beat the Infidel Mahometan Saracens out of the island Majorca^d, and the city Valencia,

^a Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 5. p. 167. ^b Cent. 12. cap. 2. ^c Métropolis, lib. 6. cap. 27. ^d Ibid. cap. 39. p. 187. — ^e Cent. Magdeb. Cent. 13. cap. 2. p. 3.

50 *Propagation of Christianity.* [Cent. XII.]

Valencia, which did again receive Christianity about the year 1227. The Danes did promote our religion in Esthonia, and settled a bishopric at Revel.

It is also recorded by historians^c; that in this century some Tartarians submitted to Christ. Haiton, king of Armenia, observing the Saracens to increase to such mighty power in Palestine, was afraid of them, and sent his brother to Mango, the great chan of Tartary. He having obtained a safe conduct, comes to court, and persuaded the great chan to embrace the Christian religion, and oppose the Mahometans, and obtained a great army, with which he returned to the assistance of his brother. Others say^s, that some Tartarian princes in Asia received the Christian religion, and did great things in Syria and Persia, in conjunction with their allies the Armenians, against the Saracens and Egyptians; one of them was called Cassanus, and his successors in Persia retained that name. Other authors say^b, that Mongu, chan of Tartary, the fifth after Genghis Chan, was converted by his wife, daughter of Haiton, king of Armenia, and baptized with his brother Alan, or Heilon, with his whole family; that Alan led an army into Palestine, having on his standard the image of Christ crucified, to recover Jerusalem from the Infidels. However in a little time the Tartars revolted to their infidelity, for at this day most part of them are Mahometans or Pagans. Hottinger calls them Sagomorbarei, because they have one Sagomorbar Chan for their great prophet, (as

^c Cent. Magdeb Cent. 13. cap. 2. p. 3. ^f Hottinger Hist. Eccl. parte 4. p. 517. and authors there cited. ^g Genebrard, p. 635. ^b Cro-
mwell Pol. lib. 9. p. 685. apud Hottinger *supra*.

the Turks have Mahomet :) he left them many of his dictates concerning one God, and relating to their policy and manners. Among the constitutions the successors of Ginnis Chan swear to observe, even to this day, this is one, "That they will not persecute the Christians, nor exact more tribute from them than others." Hottinger¹ imputes the cause of their apostasy to the superstitions the Franciscan and Dominican popish missionaries imposed upon these new converts; which is even owned by Bezovius. The learned Spanheim doubts of the truth of the whole story²; but I do not see any solid reason for questioning the whole, even though authors have different ways of telling it. There are even to this day many Christians scattered up and down Tartary, and too many of them tainted with the Nestorian heresy³.

The inhabitants of Prussia, or Borussia, continued long in heathenish idolatry; but in this century, the knights of the Teutonic order, returning from the holy war in Syria, took possession of their country about the year 1230^m; they built the city of Marienburg in Royal Prussia, and are said to have propagated Christianity there; at least, to make that people subject to Gregory IX. then Pope of Rome.

About the same time, the Waldenses and Albigenses made a noble appearance for the purity of doctrine, worship, and government of the church of Christ, in opposition to the corruptions of the church of Rome; many of them resisted to the blood, and were slain for the testimony which they held.

¹ Hottinger, ut supra, pag. 518.

² Spanhemii *F. Historia Christiana*,

Folio, col. 1696. ³ Gotofredi *Archontologia Cosmica*, lib. 2. pag. 176.

^m Spanhemii *F. Hist. Christiana*, col. 1645.

held. But my design limits me to the propagating of Christianity among Heathens: And therefore, I go to

The fourteenth century, in which there were too many remainders of Paganism, since there were any; but, alas! the clergy, whose work it ought to have been to promote the light of the gospel, did rather confirm people in their error, than bring them into the right way: The ignorance, delusion, and idolatry of the church of Rome, had so corrupted the minds and manners of men, that they had no thought of the great interests of religion; and therefore, there is little to be remarked of the conversion of nations in this age.

The people in the great dukedom of Lithuania, were among the last in Europe, who remained in heathenish idolatry. Keckerman says^a, "The Lithuanians were devoted to the superstitious worship of many gods, or rather devils; for they adored fire, they gave divine honour to thunder, which they called Perunum; they so esteemed groves, and some stately trees in woods, as it was criminal to lift an ax against them; if any body presumed to do it, they said, the devil would inflict some strange punishment upon him; they believed vipers and serpents to be a sort of deities; they kept them like household gods, and offered them milk and cocks; the whole family was threatened with ruin, if any of them were killed; they had a solemn sacrifice in October, after harvest, where they convened with their wives, children, and servants, and feasted upon those things they had offered

^a *Systema Dog. Plen. P. 2. pag. 461. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. vol. 3. Sec. 14. pag. 867.*

offered and sacrificed to these gods: When they returned from wars, they burnt the spoils they had taken, and one of the prisoners in the fire."

Jagello, great Duke of Lithuania, married Hedwige, daughter of the king of Poland, on these terms, that he should become Christian; and failing heirs male, should be king of Poland. In performance of these articles, he was baptized, Feb. 12th, 1386, and was created king of Poland, by the name of Uladisslaus V. and enjoyed that crown forty-eight years. He erected a bishopric at Vilna, the metropolis of Lithuania, and with the assistance of the clergy, did extirpate heathenish idolatry, and propagate Christianity there^a. Lithuania was for ever united to the crown of Poland, in the year 1569; tho' popery be the established religion, yet there are many protestants in that country, to whose assistance, in their distressed condition, the church of Scotland did send, a few years ago, a noble charitable supply.

About the end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century, Tamerlane, or Timur-Lenc, as Hottinger, from Arabian authors, calls him^b, made a great figure in the world: He was not born of a shepherd, nor infamous for robbery, as the Turkish and Saracen authors, who mightily hate him, do report; but was a prince of the posterity of Zinchis-Chan, who reigned in Zagathai, in the western parts of Tartary, where the city Samarchand was their royal seat; after with triumphant arms he had subdued many rich provinces, at the desire of Manuel the Greek emperor at Constantinople, and other Christian princes, who had been over-run and oppressed by Bajazet the

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^a Hottinger, ubi supra. Conar's history of Poland, vol. 1. letter 2.

^b Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 15. de Gengis Chanismo.

fourth king of the Turks, he came into the Lesser Asia, with an army of eight hundred thousand men, by whom he entirely routed Bajazet, in the great battle near mount Stella, the particulars whereof are largely deduced by Knolls^c, and other historians. Bajazet himself was taken prisoner, and as a just recompence of his intolerable pride, ended his life in miserable slavery. After this victory, Timur-Lenc subdued all Tartary, Persia, and a great part of India, and lived till he was near ninety years of age, shewing great favour to the Christians, and especially to learned men. The Great Moguls in the East Indies are descended of his posterity. 'Tis also recorded of this mighty Tamerlane^d, "That he conquered the Moscovites, brought China under his power, and by his victories over the Turks, established the Greek emperor in his dominions, and subdued Egypt; he had with him many Christians, skilful in several arts and sciences, whom he brought from all places where he had been with his armies. Axalla, a Genoese, who had been bred up with him, was a Christian, and in great favour and authority under him. The Christians were his best and chiefest soldiers, upon whom he most relied; he reposed as much trust and confidence in them, as in his natural subjects, and more than in the most zealous Mahometans. He gave out orders all over his vast empire, that Christians should have the free exercise of their religion, and that Christ should be honoured and revered by all men; and the Christian worship was daily performed in his army.

^c History of the Turks, pag. 216, & sequentibus. ^d History of Tamerlane, by Sandhyon, chap. 2, 7. cited by Jenkins, in his reasonableness of the Christian religion, vol. 1. pages 220, 221.

my. This emperor had in his dominions many countries where the inhabitants were all Christians; and he commanded the Christians should be every where used with as much respect and esteem, as those of the Mahometan religion."

The people of Samogitia remained Pagans till the beginning of the fifteenth century; their superstition was much of the same kind with that of Lithuania above described. Those who are curious, may see more of it in Hottinger^c and Gothofredus^d. Their country is bounded on the north by Courland; on the east by Lithuania; on the south by Ducal Prussia; and on the west by the Baltic sea; its length, from east to west, is thirty-five German miles, but its breadth is not answerable. Uladislaus king of Poland demolished their idols, and taught them the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, because none of his priests understood then their language^e. He founded some churches among them, and sent priests afterward to instruct them. Their first bishop was called Matthias; he was born at Vilna, and understood exactly the Lithuanian and Samogitian dialect. They are something barbarous to this very day, being inclined to divinations, charms, and force-ries, and frequently abused by diabolical illusions^f.

The improvement of arts and sciences, the reviving of learning, buried under popish darkness and superstition, in former ages, and the discoveries made by the art of navigation, in the formerly unknown parts of the world, in this century, were happy means for advancing the kingdom of

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^a Hist. Eccl. vol. 4. Sæc. 15. page 857, & seq. ^c Archæologia Cosmologica, lib. 1. page 402. ^d Hottinger, ubi supra, pag. 838. ^e Heylin's Cosmography, book 2. pag. 169. edit. 1652.

Christ over the world; of which we shall have occasion to discourse more fully afterward. Mean time we may observe, that the Canary islands were discovered by the Baron de Bevenmour, a Frenchman, and by the Sieur de la Salle, who arrived there, July, 1402, who made himself master of them, and came in person to do homage for them to the king of Spain, because he was the nearest Christian prince. When the French came thither, the inhabitants had no other weapons but arrows and darts, and were all idolaters, worshipping the sun and stars; Polygamy was allowed and used through all the country: but that which is a greater proof of their barbarity, is a strange custom they observed; when any lord took possession of his little dominions, several persons offered to die voluntarily in honour of the solemnity, and with a brutal courage, cast themselves headlong from the top of a very high mountain. The same ceremony was observed upon certain festivals, kept in honour of a deity they adored, in a temple seated on the brink of a mountain; they threw themselves down into a vast depth, out of a religious principle, dancing and singing; their priests assuring them, they should enjoy all sorts of pleasure, after such a noble death. They eat the flesh of beasts raw and bleeding, having not yet learned the use of fire. The inhabitants of the several islands looked upon one another as enemies, much after the same manner as is practised between the Iroquois and Hurons in Canada, who eat one another; so the people of these isles killed and butchered one another, without mercy or compassion; they used to do the same to strangers, when in their power. I need not enlarge upon the

the manners, rarities and produce of those islands; they are known to every sea-faring man, and may be seen by any who reads geography. Only I thought fit to give a hint of these barbarous customs, and sacrifices to devils, that we may see the lamentable condition of Heathens, and the great mercy of being delivered from such abominable rites, by embracing our holy religion. The Spaniards brought Christianity into those islands, according to the doctrine and superstition of the church of Rome; the inhabitants are now Roman Catholics, and have a bishop in the Canaries.

Madeira is an island in the Atlantic sea, to the west of Barbary, it is called by some, *The Queen of Islands*, because of its beauty and fertility; it was discovered in the year 1420, by John Gonsalve and Christian Vasee, in the name of the king of Portugal, who is possessed of it. The inhabitants were Heathens, when first discovered. There is now a popish archbishop settled at Funchal, with a revenue of 8000 ducats.

But of the state of Heathenish idolatry, and of the propagation of the Christian religion, in these last ages, since navigation, arts and sciences began to be improved, we shall have occasion to discourse more fully afterward, in the following parts of this essay; and therefore I now put an end to this chapter.

C H A P. VII.

Of the present state of Heathens in Asia, Africa, and America.

BEFORE I enter upon the propagation of Christianity, in these remote parts of the world, in the last ages, it will be proper to consider their present circumstances, that we may have the clearer view of the condition they are in, and of the care which ought to be taken for their conversion. Neither shall I forget to give some account of remote Christian churches in those parts of the world, that we may the better sympathize with them, as members of the same body of Christ with ourselves; and because this and the following chapter have a mutual connection, what is more largely treated in the one, shall be omitted in the other. Indeed, the vast extent of Pagan idolatry, and the deplorable condition of so great a part of the habitable earth, that was not known to us in Europe well, till within these two hundred years, or thereabouts, and who, notwithstanding some endeavours that have been used for their conversion, are yet for most part without the pale of *Christ's church, under the servitude of Satan, aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, strangers to the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world*; may move the pity and compassion of any tender-hearted Christian.

I begin with Asia, and first of the Bramins, because they are a set of people scattered up and down many parts of the East Indies. Mr. Wotton,

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ton, in his reflections on ancient and modern learning, gives this account of them^a: "We have very little of any notice of these Indian philosophers before Alexander the Great, who extended his conquests as far as the river Indus. His historians acquaint us with a set of philosophers in that country, who practised great austerities themselves, and taught others that wisdom of living on a little, of abstaining from almost all natural pleasures, and promoting the prosperity and welfare of the rest of mankind." Strabo gives a description of them out of Megasthenes, Onesicritus and Aristobulus. That the body of it may be true, is probable, from what we are told of their successors the Bramins, by Bernier and Abraham Roger. This last author lived among the Bramins 15 years, and had his information from Padmanaba a Bramin; he preached both in the Dutch and Portuguese languages in Coromandel, Java, and New-Holland; and returning to Holland in Europe, in the year 1647, wrote his book^b, where he collected the opinions of the Bramins with all the exactness he could. He says, "The superstitious care these people take to follow the customs, and propagate the opinions of their ancestors, be they ever so absurd and senseless, plainly shows, they would have preserved learning with equal care, had there been any of it to preserve. They keep a collection of the wise sayings of one Barthrohoweri, which Mr. Roger has given us a taste of; but such miserable stuff generally, that one cannot read them, without smiling at the simplicity of those who can admire them. They would not shew

^a Page 148, and following. ^b Hornbeck de conversione Indorum, lib. 1. cap. 5. pag. 32, & seq.

shew him their book of the law, but by the account his Bramin doctor gave of it, though they pretend it is sent from God, yet 'tis only an absurd history of the fabulous succession of their deities, and a vile collection of the superstitious ceremonies by which they are to be worshipped. Their doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which Pythagoras first taught in the west, is a precarious idle notion, which these blinded Indians so foolishly believe, that they are afraid to kill a flea or a louse, for fear of disturbing the soul of one of their ancestors; though at the same time, they scruple not to force multitudes of poor silly women, and sometimes too, full sore against their wills, to burn themselves alive with their deceased husbands bodies, under pretence of being serviceable to them in another world; though they are far from having any assurance their husbands will there stand in need of them. Can we believe there is a generous spirit residing in a people, who have now for two or three thousand years placed the greatest degree of sanctity and prudence in half starving themselves, and depriving themselves of the lawful conveniencies of life? Yet these were the chief employments of the ancient Brachmans, as they are still of the modern Bramins."

Monfieur Bernier says*, "That the Bramins believe, that the earth is flat and triangular, with several stories, all different in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants, each of which, they say, is encompassed by a sea; that one of these seas is milk, another of sugar, a third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so on to seven, beginning at Sommeire

* Voyages, tom. 3. pag. 168. English edition.

meire, an imaginary mountain they place in the midst of the earth. That the first story, which is at the foot of Sommeire, hath Deutas, i. e. Semi-gods of the Bramins, which are very perfect; the second contains likewise Deutas, but less perfect, and so of the rest, still lessening the perfection to the seventh, which they say is ours, that is, of man, less perfect than any of the Deutas. And lastly, that the whole mass is sustained on the heads of divers elephants, which, when they stir, cause an earthquake." Upon this, and the like doctrine of theirs, consonant to those noble discoveries in Monsieur Roger's histories of the lives and manners of the Bramins, Monsieur Bernier makes this remark^d, "All these strange impertinencies, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if these be the famous sciences of the ancient Brachmans of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they conceived of them: for my part, I can hardly believe it; but that I find the religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times, that it is writ in the Hanscrit language, which cannot but be very ancient, since its beginning is unknown, and it is a dead language, understood but by the learned. All their books being writ in that tongue, is a mark of very great antiquity."

The life of Francis Xavier, written in French by father Bohours, and done into English by Mr. Dryden, gives the following account of these Bramans or Indian priests. "The Bramans are very considerable among the Indians, both for their

^d Voyages, ubi supra, page 169. ^e Xavier's Life, Book 2. See Appendix to religion and learning, of the Malabarians by Danish missionaries, pag. 64. & seq.

their birth and their employment. According to the ancient fables of the Indies, their original is from heaven; and it is the common opinion, 'That the blood of the God is running in their veins;' but to understand how they were born, and from what God descended, 'tis necessary to know the story of their gods, which in short is this. The first, and lord of all others, is Para-Brama, which is to say, *a most perfect substance*, who has his being from himself, and who gives his being to the rest. God being a spirit free from matter, and desirous to appear once under a sensible figure, became man, by the only desire he had to show himself, he conceived a son, which came out of his mouth, and was called Mayso; he had two others after him, one of them, whose name was Visnu, was born out of his breast, the other, called Brama, out of his belly. Before he returned to his invisibility, he assigned habitations and employments to his three children. He placed the eldest in the first heaven, and gave him absolute command over the elements and mixed bodies; he lodged Visnu below his eldest brother, and established him judge of men, the father of the poor, and the protector of the unfortunate. Brama had for his inheritance the third heaven, with the superintendence of sacrifices and other ceremonies of religion. These are the three deities which the Indians represent by an idol with three heads growing out of one body, with this mysterious signification, 'That they all proceed from the same principle.' By which it may be inferred (says my author) That in former times they have heard of Christianity, and that their religion is an imperfect imitation, or rather a corruption of ours.

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They say, that Vishnu has descended a thousand times on earth, and every time has changed his shape; sometimes appearing in the figure of a beast, sometimes of a man, which is the original of their Pagods, concerning which they relate so many fables. They add, that Bruma having a desire for children, made himself visible, and begat the Brachmans, whose race has infinitely multiplied. The people believe them Demi-gods, as poor and as miserable as they are. They likewise imagine them to be saints, because they lead a hard and solitary life, having very oft no other lodging than the hollow of a tree or cave, sometimes living exposed to the air on a bare mountain, or in a wilderness, suffering all the hardships of the weather, keeping a profound silence, fasting a long time together, and making profession of eating nothing that had life in it. But after all, there is not perhaps a more wicked nation under the canopy of heaven; the fruit of these austerities, which they practise in the desert, is to abandon themselves in public to the most brutal pleasures of the flesh, without either shame or remorse of conscience; for they believe, that all things, how abominable soever, are lawful to be done, provided they are suggested to them by the light within. And the people are so infatuated with them, as to believe, that they shall become holy by partaking in their crimes, or by suffering any outrage from them. On the other side, they are the greatest impostors in the world; their talent consists in inventing new fables every day, and making them pass among the vulgar for wonderful mysteries: one of their cheats is, to persuade the simple, that the Pagods eat like men; and to
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the end they may be presented with good cheer, they make their gods of a gigantic figure, and are sure to endow them with a prodigious paunch. If these offerings, with which they maintain their families, come to fail, they denounce to the people, "That the offended Pagods threaten the country with some prodigious judgment, or that their gods in displeasure will forsake them, because they are suffered to die in hunger."

"The doctrine of these Bramins is nothing better than their life; one of their gross errors is, to believe, that cows have in them something sacred and divine; happy is the man that can be sprinkled with the ashes of a cow, burnt by the hand of a Brachman; but thrice happy he, who dying, lays hold of a cow's tail, and expires with it betwixt his hands; for thus assisted, the soul departs out of the body purified, and sometimes returns into the body of a cow: that such a favour is not vouchsafed but on heroic souls, who contemn life, and die generously, either by casting themselves from a precipice, or leaping into a kindled pile, or throwing themselves under the holy chariot-wheels, to be crushed to death by the Pagods, while they are carried in triumph about the town. We are not to wonder after this, that the Brachmans cannot endure the Christian law, and that they make use of all their credit and cunning to destroy it in the Indies. Being favoured by princes many in number, and strongly united among themselves, they succeed in all they undertake; and being zealous for their ancient superstitions, and most obstinate in their opinions, 'tis not easy to convert them.

of this, and the other, and the other, and the other, In

In Mr. Harris's compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels¹, I find the following story, which may give a further view of these Bramins. About the year 1613 the king of Narfinga died; the English East-India company having considerable debts and effects among his people, were concerned to secure themselves: in order to this, when other means failed, they resolved to secure the governor, or his son; and they actually seized his son, conveyed him into their boat, and then aboard their ship with him. Though they were hotly pursued by fire-arms, they made good their retreat: "The governor was under a necessity of doing us justice, (says my author) and that in a little time too, if he loved his son's life, not that we intended to offer him any violence, but his own superstition would have given him death without remedy; for it seems he was a Bramin, and all of that character are forbidden by the laws of their sect to eat or drink any thing but what they provide themselves; all animal food is abomination to them, and they have so many peculiarities of diet, (and being obliged to be their own cooks too) that the poor Bramin was like to starve on shipboard, keeping a longer and severer fast than perhaps ever his religion put him upon. He would not touch a bit of any thing we had, and though nature struggled hard, and made heavy complaints for relief, yet conscience restrained and curbed her, silenced all that noise, and got the victory; so that the young man must certainly die in a very little space, unless he would either over-rule his conscience, or persuade his father to shew a little

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¹ Harris's Collection in Folio, vol. 1. pag. 113.

in paying a just debt. This being the case, the old governor disputed the business no longer; the sense of his son's danger softened and overcame him, and to avoid being his murderer, he discharged the incumbent debt, and balanced all accounts with us. So we sent back the mortified prisoner again, having fasted now four or five days, enough to make a man hate that superstition, and to forswear being a Bramin any longer. But how ridiculous soever the doctrine of the Bramins be in the theory, it was very useful and profitable to us in the practice of it; for if we had not got a Bramin into our hands, a fellow that must be presently redeemed, or else would have starved himself, we do not know when we should have got our money."

F. Bouchet, a missionary, has some remarks upon these Bramins; his observations tend to prove^s, That the Indians have taken their religion from the books of Moses and the prophets; that all the fables their books are filled with, do not so much disguise the truth, but it may still be known; and that beside the religion of the Hebrew nation, which they learned, at least in part, by their commerce with the Jews and Egyptians, there appear among them plain footsteps of the Christian religion, preached to them by St Thomas the apostle, Pantænus, and other great men, ever since the first ages of the church. I only report the opinion of this Jesuit, but will not subscribe to it as solid truth; yea, I conceive, the extravagant wild notions of the Bramins and Indians cannot be reconciled with the holy scriptures, and are only fables invent-

^s *Jesuits Travels in English*, printed 1714, pag. 2. & seq.

ed by the enemy of mankind, to lull his deluded subjects asleep in heathenish idolatry and impiety.

The Indians have an incredible bigotry, and mad zeal for their Casts. Tavernier tells us^a, 'tis commonly believed there are 72 Casts, some say 84, yet there are but four principal ones, from whom the rest take their original. The first is that of the Bramins, the successors of the ancient Brachmans or Indian philosophers, of whom we have already discoursed. They study astrology, and to increase and preserve this knowledge, they have a kind of university at Bonarez, where their doctors expound their law, and they perform all their exercises in astrology. But because they are too numerous to study all there, many of them are very ignorant, and the most refined wits among them are the greatest forcerers. The second Cast is the Rasputs or Catrys, who are warriors and warlike people; these are the only idolatrous Indians that have any courage to signalize themselves in war. All the Rajas are of this Cast. They are still petty kings, but their own differences made them tributary to the Mogul; and because most of them are continually in his service, they are sufficiently recompensed by great salaries; they are horsemen, only the Catrys are degenerated into merchants. The third Cast are the Banians or Ouens. An author, called Henry Lord, some time chaplain to the English East India company at Surat, in the year 1630, printed a discovery of the sect of the Banians; I have read his book, it contains many fabulous stories concerning their deities, history, law, liturgy, customs and ceremonies, which

^a Travels into India, in Harris's complete Collection of Travels, vol. 2. p. 376.

which he says is taken from a book, called by the Banians, *Shafter*; but I shall not trouble my reader with any extract from this author; because we may find in this chapter, as much as may suffice from later writers, who have made more accurate enquiries in these affairs. To return to Mr. Travernier, he says, the Banians wholly addict themselves to trade, and are some of them Sheraffs, or bankers, and others brokers, who are employed between merchant and merchant for buying and selling; they are so subtle and nimble in trade, that a Jew may be apprentice to them. They accustom their children betimes to flee idleness, and so early teach them arithmetic, that they will cast up the most difficult accompt without pen or counters. If any man fly at them in the heat of his passion, they will hear him patiently without making any reply, and parting coldly with him, not see him again for three or four days, till they think his passion is over. They never eat any thing that has life, and will rather die themselves than kill the least animal or vermin that crawls. They never fight, nor go to war; nay, they will not so much as eat or drink in the house of a Raspout, because they kill the victuals they eat, all but cows, which they never touch.

The fourth Cast are the Charados or Soudras, who go to war as well as the Raspouts, but with this difference, that the Raspouts serve on horseback and the Charados on foot. Both of them account it an honour to die in battle, and most infamous to retreat in fight; infomuch, that a wife, though she love her husband ever so well, will not receive him into her house who has this

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mark of cowardice upon him, till he has regained his reputation. The rest of the natives, who are not reckoned into these Casts, are called Pauzebour, and are such as employ themselves in handicraft trades. These, in imitation of the former, have ranged themselves into several bodies like Casts or tribes, and to bring up their children, and marry them only to their own tribes. We shall hear afterward, that this bigotry for their Casts is a prejudice to hinder the conversion of particular persons to Christianity in the East Indies, for fear they be cast off, or excommunicated by their own tribe. So much concerning the state of Heathens in general in the East Indies.

I now proceed to consider the state of Heathens in several particular countries and kingdoms, both in the Continent and in the Islands; and shall begin with Malabar, which is a large populous country, upon the western coast of the peninsula of India on this side of the Ganges, near Cape Comorin. The Danish missionaries in 1706, and some following years, did endeavour to promote Christianity there, of whose endeavours and success we shall give some account in the following chapter. Mean time, we may observe in the narrative of the progress made by these missionaries*, a large account of the present state of the Heathens in that country: The sum whereof is, "The Malabarians have a very regular language, which may be reduced to a certain standard, or rules of Grammar. As our learned men in Europe have their

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* Narrative of Danish missionaries, part 1. pag. 7. & seq. See also an account of the religion, manners, and learning of the people of Malabar, in several letters, written by learned men of that country to the Danish missionaries, by Mr. Philips; printed at London 1717 in 8vo, in 180 pages.

course of philosophical sciences, so have the Malabarians, and treat them in a regular and methodical manner, as well as our scholars in Europe. They have a written law, from whence, as from a fountain, they fetch all their theological deductions and determinations. Concerning God, they will tell you, they worship one divine Being, which they set up for the original and productive cause of all things, calling it accordingly, Barbara, Wastu, or the supremest Being of all. This God, they say, doth not concern himself immediately about things of little moment, falling out either in this or the other worlds; but has created some other great gods as his vicegerents, by whom all the worlds and creatures therein are influenced. These gods, say they, have again their subordinate gods, of whom every one is said to have his particular station and government assigned him. By this middle sort, men are created, according to the order of the supremest being of all; and therefore, they think it reasonable, they should have some kind of worship allotted to them, not exceeding the very lowest or third order of gods, since men have received tokens of kindness from them too. They add, That all these inferior sorts of worship are resolved at last into the sublimest worship due to the supremest Being of all."

They pretend likewise, that wise and understanding men among them, perform their worship without images, these being designed, say they, for children only, and the duller sort of people, who know not what sort of ideas or representations to frame of these heavenly Beings. They tell you, that after the supremest Being, there are 3,500,000 all depending on the first or primary substance.

substance. They say, there are 48,000 Rishit or great prophets, and an infinite number of angels and inferior officers. The genealogy or gradual production of their gods is remarkable, and is ranked by them in this series: (1.) The Being of Beings, the supremest God, created Eternity. (2.) Eternity brought forth Tschinen. (3.) By Tschinen the goddess Tschaddy, was created. (4.) The goddess Tschaddy produced Putady, or the elementary sensitive world. (5.) By Putady the Sound or Ringing was formed. (6.) The Sound's offspring was Nature. (7.) Nature afterward begat the great god Tschatatschinen. And (8.) This again brought forth another great god, called Megelchurn. (9.) From Megelchurn sprung up Rudiren or Ispuren. (10.) From Rudiren the great god Wischtrum. (11.) This again created Brama. Which (12.) proved the productive principle of the Soul. (13.) The Soul at last created the Heaven, or that vast expansion between heaven and earth, which maketh up the fifth element, according to the Malabarick philosophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. (14.) This Heaven begat or created the Air. (15.) The Air begat the Fire. (16.) The Fire begat the Water. And (17.) The Water begat the Earth.

As for the rest of their Gods and holy prophets, they furnish out a large, long-linked roll, or genealogy, too prolix to be here inserted. Concerning the nature of their gods, they freely confess, they are subject to various changes and mutations, as well as the creatures themselves, and that each of them has a fixed term both of life and government. After the expiration of all these set times, every thing, say they, shall return to the Being of all Be-

ings; and then there shall follow a new creation. There is great difference among them as to the worship of their gods, one part preferring this, and another more fond of that: they say, that in old times their gods frequently appeared upon earth, and from these apparitions they coin a world of ridiculous tales and stories. They say, there are fourteen worlds, seven superior, and seven inferior ones, with as many huge seas moving betwixt them. This strange notion furnishes their poets with abundance of fictions, and whenever they entertain you with an account of some strange accidents or adventures, they only say these happened in such a world, without thinking themselves obliged to alledge any other proof. As for the creation of man, they say, that 60,000 men were created at first, the half of these soon turned to something else, and the other half remained men, both of them being afterwards multiplied to infinite numbers. As to the image of God, after which man was created, and the lamentable loss thereof by the fall, they know nothing of it. Their notion about sin is very lame and imperfect; they say, it comes from the constitution of the body, and from excessive eating and drinking. But the Bramins say, they are no sinners at all, but the offspring of the great god Brama, and think themselves pure and sinless all over. Concerning the soul of man, they have a multitude of wild foolish notions: some say God is the soul, others affirm it to be a part of God, others give out, that God, at the creation of the world, created all those souls that were designed to go into the bodies of men; others say, the soul is begotten by the parents, others believe it to be the product of the five elements;

ments; the most part think every one hath two souls, a good one and a bad one. They are generally for a transmigration of the soul, out of one body into another, for her full and perfect purification. But as for such as have all along lived a good and holy life, they tell you, that they are immediately translated into a state of complete bliss and happiness. Of those that have been defiled by a great many sins in the world, they hold they must wander from one body to another, and by this means be born over and over again, till they gain a perfect purification at last, and be admitted to the enjoyment of the company of the gods. From this principle they further infer, that those who have indulged themselves in all manner of lewdness and vanity, are often forced into the wild and venomous beasts, or else born again into the world, in a very poor and mean condition; whereas, those who have done a great deal of good, but without being arrived yet at the pitch of perfection, are born again, some like kings, some like great scholars, and some like other topping and first-rate men in the world.

In this vast multitude of people, hurried about with so many uncouth notions, I must needs say, adds my author^b, I never met with any one Atheist; I mean such as had the boldness to contradict the existence of a sovereign Being, and the truth of a future life. On the other hand, I have seen many, that will undergo a great deal of pain and labour, to fit themselves for a better state in the next world; many will quit all they have, wife, children

^b Narrative of Danish missionaries.

children and estate, and retire into some solitude, to do penitence for their former life. Some will employ themselves about acts and offices of humanity, erecting up and down abundance of charity houses, where both indigent travellers, and other poor people, may find rest and refreshment. There are also some spacious buildings, like cloisters, or colleges, to be seen in some places, where often a thousand people are entertained at once. In the year 1708, a certain queen, residing not far from Tranquebar, I have been told for certain, continues the same author, entertained to the number of ten thousand Bramins at free cost.—All this they do, in order to prepare themselves for another world, and please the gods, of whom their books inform, that they often appear in the shape of beggars, and unexpectedly steal in upon people, to see whether they be diligent in relieving the wants of the poor and needy. Some such charitable and public spirited men, have by their gods been taken up triumphantly in soul and body, into the regions of the blessed, as the Malabar historians tell us; and this is another motive that encourages them to such generous acts of love and charity.

Concerning the state of happiness after this life, our Malabarians inform us of four degrees or mansions prepared for the better sort of people: the first degree is termed by them Tschalogum, signifying paradise; the second Tschalimbium, importing a very near access to the great God; the third is called Tscharubum; such as arrive at this degree, are made the very image of God; the fourth is called Tschamschium, and unites the inhabitants entirely to the supreme Being. Many, to render themselves worthy of so glorious a state,
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live a very precise and virtuous life; some have so far thrown off all idolatrous worship, that they do not so much as come near a Pagod; all their endeavours are bent upon the practice of virtue. This sort of men do not own any religious party at all, thinking themselves raised above the common set of religions used among the heathens. They are ready at any time to entertain you with discourses concerning virtue and holiness of life; but as soon as you touch upon the doctrine of Christ, and the difference betwixt their religion and that of the Christians, they do not like it so well, as if you barely talk to them of virtue, and purity of manners.

I forgot to tell you, that the abovesaid notion of transmigration, and various revolutions of souls, makes one of the strongest prejudices against the Christian religion, among the Malabar Heathens, and is one of the greatest stratagems of the devil, whereby he makes many of them think slightly of the most horrid sins and pollutions. For while they do not believe any other punishment to be inflicted upon the wicked, but these revolutions of the soul, and being born again and again into the world, they grow at last quite familiar with this fancy of the rambles of the soul. Some of them have been convinced of the foolishness of this notion, and entirely put to a nonplus; but it being one of the oldest articles of their faith, and handed down to them by a long and uninterrupted tradition, 'tis hard to remove a prejudice so deeply rooted, and so commonly received among them.

In the entry to this chapter, I promised not to forget some remote Christian churches scattered among

among the Heathen, that we may the better sympathize with them as members of the same body of Christ: therefore, I shall now explain the state of the church of Malabar; which I take from Michael Geddes, D. D. who, after nine years residence at Lisbon, where he had occasion to acquaint himself with books writ in Portuguese, concerning this country, has given us a history of the church of Malabar^d, from the year 1501, to 1599, where we are informed, the south end of Malabar is inhabited by those who call themselves Christians of St. Thomas, because they were converted by the apostle of that name; they have been for 1300 years, under the patriarch of Babylon, who sends them a Meterane or archbishop. The first news of them was brought to Europe by Pedralvares Cabral, who, in the year 1501, meeting with several of these Christians at Cranganor persuaded two of them to come with him to Portugal; the eldest died at Lisbon, the younger, named Joseph, went to Venice, where, on his information, a tract was published in Latin, of the state of the church of Malabar, printed at the end of *Fasciculus Temporum*. In the following year, these Christians hearing of Don Vasco di Gama, at Cochim in the East Indies, put themselves under the protection of the king of Portugal his master. The admiral gave them many good words, and promised them his master's protection, against infidel princes. But after this compliment, we hear no more of them, till the year 1545. The Portuguese were too busy in making new conquests, and the friars sent to the Indies, too much employed

^d Geddes's history of the church of Malabar, printed at London, 1694
8vo.

employed in making commodious-seats for their convents, to attend any foreign business. But after all, this negligence is not so scandalous, as the violence afterwards used in reducing them.

The Portuguese finding the Malabars were not to be persuaded by any thing the friars could do or say to them, to forsake their present bishop, and submit themselves to the pope^a, resolve to try violence, to which popery owns its propagation. Having in a manner got the whole country into their power, they bring Mar Joseph, the only bishop of the Christians of St. Thomas, prisoner from Cochim to Goa, and thence transmit him in a ship to Portugal, where he promised the pope's legate, to do all that was in his power, to reduce his diocese to the obedience of the church of Rome. This hath been the ordinary method in the popish church, to oblige some mock-prelates, or hungry monks, to make a submission to the pope, in the name of the churches they pretend to represent; of which our author gives many examples^b. The Christians, in Malabar, fearing they should never see their bishop Mar Joseph again, sent to the patriarch of Babylon for another in his room, who sent them one Mar Abraham, who had not been long there, before he had news of Mar Joseph's being returned to Goa. By this the Portuguese gave birth to a schism, some adhering to Mar Abraham, and others to Mar Joseph, as their prelate. But the latter got himself eased of his competitor, he being sent prisoner to Rome,

^a Geddes's history of the church at Malabar, printed at London, 1694, 8vo. p. 10. ^b Ibid p. 13—19 See the same history in a French treatise, entitled, *Recherches Historiques sur l'Etat Ancien & Moderne de la Religion Chretienne dans les Indes*.

Rome, as an enemy to the Latin church. These repeated tyrannies of the Portuguese in the Indies, dragging ancient bishops out of their own country and dioceses, and tumbling them about the world, I cannot, says my author¹, but reckon among the violent acts of injustice, for which Manuel di Faria, near the end of Asia Portuguesa, says, God has punished them so visibly. The observation, says he, is so very true, as to give it in the author's words, " 'Tis remarkable, that among all persons who have gone to the Indies, whether as governors, captains or merchants, of which sort most of them were, there is not one that has raised a family of any consideration, out of the goods they have got in these parts, either here, or in Portugal; though there have been several of them who have got one, two, three, or four millions. Now, that nothing that is considerable, of all these vast treasures, should any where appear, must be for one or both of these reasons: *First*, That whereas God permitted the discoveries in this voyage, only for the propagation of his name, and true worship, not by barbarous methods as those before mentioned; these travellers have, for most part, pursued the ends of a sacrilegious covetousness, committing many acts of injustice to fill their coffers, instead of having any regard to religion: the other is, because most of these riches were gained by unjust means of tyrannies, robberies, and all sorts of insolence, of which many instances in the said history."—Neither were the violences they made use of to convert infidels, any thing inferior to those they ex-

exercised

exercised on the poor Chaldean Christians, by which they provoked the heathenish princes to that degree, that they had like to have lost all they had in the Indies by it. For the Hidalcan who besieged Goa in the year 1570, both in his letters to Don Lewis d'Ataide, and in the speech he made to his captains, when he first communicated to them the design of driving the Portuguese out of the Indies, gave these violences as the chief cause of the war. About this time the Dominican friars, under pretence of building a convent, erected a fortress at Solor, into which, as soon as it was finished, the viceroy put a strong garrison: there were perpetual bickerings between this garrison and the natives, in most of which, some of the friars, as they were converting these infidels, with swords in their hands, lost their lives. Fernando Vinagre, a secular priest, commanded the squadron sent to assist the king of Tidore, where he appeared one day in armour, another in a surplice, and baptized several persons in his armour, with his surplice over it.

In the rest of Dr. Geddes's book, we may find the Portuguese took no pains to persuade the Heathens to embrace Christianity, but were very diligent to oblige the Christians of St. Thomas to profess subjection to the pope, and to receive popish doctrines. Particularly, Dom. Frey Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, and primate of the Indies, in his visitation used many violent methods to establish the popish religion in the east; which makes it nothing strange, that these re-unions, with such as the church of Rome call schismatics in the east, have been so short-lived. Those people hate many of the doctrines and idolatrous

idolatrous practices of the church of Rome, as Francisco Roz, a Jesuit, after he had been with the archbishop last named, at Carturte in the Indies, told him, "That he could not believe he was at Carturte, where, not many months ago, having a mind to say mass, he was forced to have the church doors opened to him by the Queen's Regedor; and when he elevated the sacrament, the people all shut their eyes, that they might not see it, and beat one of his scholars, for having named the pope in his prayers; and when he shewed them an image of our Lady, they cried out, away with that filthiness! we are Christians, and for that reason do not adore idols or Pagods." Yet the Portuguese archbishop forced this people to comply with his popish innovations for a time.

The church of Malabar differs in many of its doctrines from the church of Rome, even in matters of great moment: as *First*, She condemns the pope's supremacy. *2dly*, She affirms the church of Rome is fallen from the true faith. *3dly*, She denies transubstantiation, or, that Christ's body and blood are in the substance of the elements in the eucharist. *4thly*, She condemns images, and the adoration of them, as idolatrous. *5thly*, She makes no use of oils in the administration of baptism. *6thly*, She knows nothing of godfathers or godmothers, nor of confirmation of children; she knows no spiritual affinity. *7thly*, She denies purgatory. *8thly*, She denies the necessity of auricular confession. *9thly*, She knows no extreme unction. *10thly*, She allows her priests to marry as often as they have a mind, and confers orders

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upon those who have been married, and upon widowers without a scruple. 11thly, She denies matrimony to be a sacrament. 12thly, She holds but two orders, priesthood and diaconate. 13thly, She celebrates the sacrament of the Supper in leavened bread. 14thly, She consecrates with prayer. All this appears from the said book of Dr. Geddes's, and from the acts and decrees of the synod of Diamper, which are printed with it, and which make up the greater part thereof. In that synod, Dom. Frey Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, did endeavour to thrust upon the church of Malabar, the whole mass of popery, which they were before unacquainted with: this meeting was celebrated in June 1599. 'Tis not incredible, that the archbishop should be able to prevail with them to do this, since he had engaged all the neighbouring princes, and their Regedors, to assist him, and had secured the major part of the priests present, in all an hundred and fifty-three, whereof two thirds were ordained by himself, and made to abjure their old religion, and subscribe the creed of pope Pius IV.

Before I leave the church of Malabar, I shall further observe, that in the year 1714, there was printed at Leyden, an epistle in Syriac, from Maha Thome, that is, the Great Thomas, bishop of the ancient Syrian Christians in Malabar in the Indies, to Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, and the bishops of Syria; where, after ample salutations, the said Maha Thome desires to be sent to them, one metropolitan, one patriarch, and two presbyters, because a Nestorian monk, sent by the bishop of Babylon, had endeavoured to pollute them with his

his errors. This letter was, by one Vanderduin, master of a Dutch ship, communicated to the learned Charles Schaaf, professor of the oriental languages at Leyden, who has published it with a Latin version, together with a letter from the said professor to Maha Thome, in Syriac, and a Latin version of the same; where he signifies, that he has sent by the same ship, his Syriac New Testament, as a present to him; and desires the favour of their Syriac Liturgies, and other books concerning their doctrine and religion. If this correspondence be improved, we may have further discoveries concerning these Christians in Malabar; mean time it appears, that however the church of Rome has sometimes cudgelled them into a submission, they are no hearty profelytes to popery.

To return to the state of Paganism in Asia; the kingdoms of Bishnagar and Narlinga lie in the peninsula of India, on this side the Ganges, near Malabar; the inhabitants have a cruel sort of heathenish idolatry. An idol, which pilgrims visit with their hands bound, with ropes about their necks, or knives sticking in their flesh, accounting themselves holy, if their wounds fester; they cast gold and jewels into a lake for its use; they carry it yearly in procession, and strive to be crushed to death under the chariot that bears it^b. If any happen to be killed thus, they burn his body, and keep his ashes as holy relics; some cut off pieces of their flesh, and throw them to the idol: Women prostitute themselves for money to maintain it. When men make vows to it, they perform them,

^b See Captain Alexander Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, printed 1727. chap. 31. of the famous temple of Jagarynut.

them, by suffering their priests, with sharp hooks fastened to the cross yard of a mast, to pull them up till the blood runs down, and then they are taken down, and lifted up again by the middle, giving thanks to the idol for accepting of their sacrifice: The priests licence women to marry, by sealing them with a hot iron upon the shoulders. They have festivals, some to the sun, some to their kine, and other idols: when the sun or moon is eclipsed, they say they are bit by a celestial sign called the Dragon¹.

I now proceed nothward, to the empire of the Great Mogul, called also Indostan; it contains a great part of the continent of the Indies, being about six hundred and fifty leagues long, from east to west, and above four hundred and fifty, from north to south. The princes say they are descended from Timur-Lenc, commonly called Tamerlane, who came out of Tartary, and settled this empire about the year 1401. It is not my business to enquire into the riches, policy, or greatness of this monarchy, which cannot easily enlarge its limits, wanting a naval force, and being environed with strong neighbours, who are able to defend their own territories. As to religion, the emperor, or Mogul, is a Mahometan, as also his court, and several of his subjects, but the greater part of them are Heathen idolaters. Beside other idols, they ascribe a kind of sanctity to the river Ganges; whose waters are very clear: therefore at certain times, four or five hundred thousand Indians may be seen washing and bathing in that river, into which, at their departure, they throw gold
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¹ Great Historical Dictionary. edit. Lond. 1694. Roli's Pantheon from Vertomannes and Fernandes.

or silver*. A larger account of the state of Paganism, and their various rites in this empire, may be seen in Mr. Tavernier's travels into India¹.

The Mogul's court is very jealous of the prevailing of Paganism among them, as we are informed by a passage of the Newspapers, dated at Amsterdam, December 8th, 1719. "Here are letters from Ispaham of the 30th of July last, of a great revolution in the empire of the Great Mogul, occasioned by the obstinacy of the emperor, who, having married a Pagan princess from a neighbouring kingdom, was often entreated by his ministers to put her away, as the only means to appease the murmuring of his subjects; who, extremely abhorring the Pagan religion, began to apprehend, he would renounce that of the Mahometans, to embrace that of the Pagans. But the emperor, instead of hearkening to their counsels, suffered that princess to assume an absolute empire, both over his person and government. Whereupon the principal lords of his court first put out his eyes, then poisoned him, and afterwards set on his throne, a prince of twelve years of age, son to his predecessor. All this was performed in five hours time, without any popular commotion, the successor enjoying the quiet possession of his crown."

There is an abominable custom which obtains in many places, not only in the Mogul's country, but in many other kingdoms in the East Indies, where heathenism prevails; that is, of wives killing themselves after the death of their husbands,

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* Historical Dictionary on the word Mogol. † See Harris's Itinerantium Bibliotheca, vol. II pag. 376 & seq.

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falling like so many sacrifices to the devil^m. I shall give a late moving instance of it, from a Newspaper, dated at Paris, March 24th, 1719, containing an abstract of a letter, written by father Martin, to F. de Villette, both Jesuits, from Veragua Pati, in the mission of Madure, on the coast of Coromandel. "The prince of Marava (says the letter) dying in 1710, aged above eighty years, his wives, to the number of forty-seven, were burned with his corpse in the following manner. They digged a deep ditch without the town, and in it erected a pile of wood, on the top of which the deceased was laid, richly clothed and adorned; when they had set this on fire, with a world of ceremonies, performed by the Bramins, that company of unfortunate women appeared, covered with jewels, and adorned with flowers, like so many victims designed for the sacrifice. They walked several times about the pile, the heat of which was perceived at a great distance; the chief of them held the dagger of the deceased, and directing her speech to the prince his successor, Here, she said, is the dagger which the prince made use of, to triumph over his enemies, take care never to employ it to any other use, nor to embrue it with the blood of your subjects; govern them as a father, as he has done, and you will live long and happy, as he did: since he is no more, nothing can keep me longer in the world; all I have to do, is to follow him. With these words, she resigned the dagger into the prince's hands, who took it, without shewing the least sign of grief or compassion. Alas! said she, what further comes of all human happiness?

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^m See Captain Hamilton's account of the East Indies, vol. 1. page 276.
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ness? I am sensible I am throwing myself headlong into hell! These words struck all the spectators with horror: she had a Christian woman in her service, who frequently discoursed her, concerning the truth of revealed religion, in order to persuade her to embrace Christianity, but could never prevail upon her to renounce her heathenish idols, even though the truths made some impression upon her mind. She having spoke thus, boldly turned her face to the pile, and calling upon her gods, flung herself into the midst of the flames. The second of these women was the sister of Raya, a prince of the blood, who assisted at that detestable ceremony; when he received from his sister the jewels with which she was adorned, he broke out into tears, and fell about her neck, embracing her most tenderly: She seemed unmoved at it, and with a resolute countenance, looking sometimes at the pile, sometimes at the assistants, cried with a loud voice, *Chiva, Chiva*, which is the name of one of her idols, and threw herself into the flames as the first had done. The other women followed her soon after, some of them shewing composure enough in their countenance, and others were cast down and bewildered: one of them, frightened above the rest, run to a Christian, who was a soldier, and hanging about his neck, begged of him to save her. The new convert, who knew how foolish it was in him, to assist at this barbarous spectacle, from which all Christians are excluded by the severest prohibitions, was so stunned, that in the surprize, he pushed that unfortunate creature from him, into the glowing pit: he immediately retired, all shivering with terror, which soon threw him into a fever, accom-

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panied with a frenzy, of which he died the night following. Whatever intrepidity some of these women discovered at first, yet as soon as they felt the flames, they roared in a most dreadful manner, and tumbling over each other, strove to gain the brim of the pit, but in vain; the assistants threw upon them large pieces of wood. The next day, the Bramins or priests gathered their bones, which they threw into the sea. The pit was levelled, a temple built on the spot, and the deceased prince, with his wives, reckoned among the deities. To conclude, it is by these women's choice, that they give themselves up to this cruel death, tho' it is almost impossible for them to avoid it; for if they do, they must lie under perpetual infamy, and their relations would leave no means untried to oblige them to it. Mean time, this barbarous law only regards princesses, and concubines of Indian princes, and does not extend to women of less extraction, who share a better fate, and whom nothing but the most barbarous vanity, can persuade to submit to so abominable a custom."

This puts me in mind of another barbarous custom among the Pagan Indians. F. Vilette, in the mission of Madure, in the year 1709, observes, that if their adversary displease them, and cut off his ears, they will cut off their own; if he put out one of his eyes, they, by *Lex Talionis*, will put out one of their own; if he kill his son, you must kill yours, offering a victim equal to his. This barbarous custom, our author says, he has seen often practised". What a mercy would it be to see the gospel of peace reform such a people from inhu-

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man horrid cruelty, and teach them their duty to God, mercy to themselves, and love to one another!

To these instances of barbarous Heathen cruelty, I shall add one or two more. In the Paris edition of the Jesuits letters, I find it oftener than once, that in the great empire of China, where there are so many large cities, and so vast a multitude of people, that parents, for fear of being burdened with many children, expose their infants to various kinds of death, yea, even suffer them to die in streets and kennels. Manuel di Faria, in his Portuguese Asia, tells us^o, that Raju, tyrant or king in Ceylon, when he was to make war on the Portuguese, thought fit first to consult the idols about his success, and having placed men behind them, who should say as he directed, the answer was, "That if he would enter Colombo, he must shed innocent blood." He pretending obedience to these commands, caused five hundred children to be snatched from their mothers, which were all slaughtered, and the idols sprinkled with their blood. These, and other examples of heathenish barbarity, to be read in the Indian history, are the sad footsteps of the cruelty of the devil to Heathens, who are his slaves, who want the principles of Christianity, which teaches to "love mercy, and walk humbly with our God."

If we go further northward from the empire of the Mogul, we shall meet with Tartary: It is bounded on the west by Moscovy and the Caspian sea, on the north by the Frozen ocean, on the east by the Tartarian ocean and China, and on the

south

south by China, the empire of the Mogul and Persia. It yields to the territories of no potentate in the world for extent, except it be to those of the king of Spain, taking in his dominions in America, but then this country is united, whereas the regions that belong to Spain lie wonderfully divided. Some authors say, Tartary contains near two millions, two hundred thousand Italian miles square^p; but the more common calculation is, that it is in length, from east to west, three thousand miles, and in breadth, from north to south, two thousand two hundred and fifty miles. As to religion, some of the Tartars follow the doctrine of Mahomet, which was admitted among them about the year of our Lord 1246; some are Jews, others Christians, especially Nestorians: but the greatest number are Heathens, owning two gods, one of heaven, another of earth; to the first they cast incense every day, and seek of him health and wisdom, which they stand much in need of. From the inferior deity they ask abundance of fruit, store of cattle, and the like; they call him Natigai, and give him wife and children; they think he has a care of their cattle, corn, and other affairs. When they eat, they rub the mouth of this idol with the fattest of the flesh, as they do also to his wife and children, for they have many such little images in their houses, and afterwards cast the broth of the flesh to the spirits without the house. They keep their god of heaven in a high place, and that of earth beneath. They believe that their souls are immortal, but pass from one body to another, and are lodged

^p Grimeston's States and empires, pag. 701, & seq.

better or worse, according to the actions of their lives, wherein they follow the Pythagorean Metempsychosis. They honour also the sun and moon, and the four elements, and do sacrifice to them. They call the Pope and all Christians Dzinthis, that is, Pagans; and Chaur, that is to say, Infidels, Dogs, and Idolaters. They do not solemnize one day more than another; and do not fast on one day more than another. They are much given to war, and use their victory with insolence, sparing no captives, neither men, women, nor children, old nor young, except some they reserve for servile work. They suck up the blood of wounded and dying persons. They are much given to uncleanness and whoredom, though they may have as many wives as they are able to maintain; no relation hindering them to marry, except it be mother, daughter, or sister, yet they are exceedingly addicted to Sodomy.

The learned Hornbeck, from the preface to Martinus's Atlas, says^a, The Tartars have almost no religion, they abhor Mahometanism, and have a bad opinion of the Turks; they have received some superstitions of the Indians. There is no great difficulty in learning their language, therefore there is hope, that by the industry of Christians, the doctrine of our holy religion may be yet brought to Tartary. But others alledge, they are more inclined to Mahometanism; these Musulmen tell them, their religion is easier, more pleasant than Christianity, and more agreeable to warlike men, such as the Tartars are. All these difficulties may be easily surmounted by the almighty

^a De Conversione Indorum, lib. I. pag. 58.

mighty power of God, when he shall please to enlighten these barbarous nations, and *make the Sun of righteousness to arise upon them with healing under his wings.* Indeed no less power can convert one infidel or stranger, far less a whole nation. Some authors tells us^r, that in Sachien, the Tartars have divers monasteries for their idols, to whom they dedicate their children, and sacrifice rams, eating the flesh, but reserving the bones as holy relics. The priest is allowed the head, feet, skin, inwards, and some part of the flesh. When great men are buried, they set a well-covered table before the corpse, thinking the soul is refreshed with the odour of the meats, and throw the pictures of his men, women and horses, &c. into the fire with the body, to serve him in the other world; (better to throw in the pictures than the wives themselves, as is done in the Indies.) In Tangoth they worship idols with many heads; in Camdu they prostitute their wives, sisters, and daughters to strangers, in honour of their idols. In Cathai and Mangi they offer blood to their idols for recovering the sick, as also rams with black heads, and spiced drinks, and fling the broth in the air; and the monks wear strings of nutshells, on which they say their prayers.

There is a copy of William de Rubriquish's travels in Mr. Harris's *complete Collection*: he was a Frenchman, of the order of Minorite Friars, and travelled into Tartary and China about the year 1253; he represents the opinion of the Tartars^r, "That they believe there is but one God, eternal in heaven, and upon earth there is one Lord, Chingis

^r Great Historical Dictionary, edit. 1694. on the word Tartars. ^f Harris's Collection, vol. 1. pag. 504, 505.

gis Temingu Tingü, that is, The sawer of Iron, because he was a smith. He says also, "That the Chan never does any thing without strange divinations by the shoulder-bones of rams, burnt into the blackness of coals; if the bones by the heat of the fire be cleft forth right, then he concludes he may do it; but if the bones be cracked athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not." These are unaccountable wicked charms, propagated by the enemy of mankind.

Leaving Tartary, I go southward to the kingdom of Siam, which is a rich country, beyond the gulf of Bengala, in the peninsula of India. M. Chaumont's embassy to Siam, and father Tachard, give this account of it¹. Their religion cannot be known, but from their books writ in the Baalic language, with them the tongue of the learned, and very few even among them understand it; besides, neither do these books always agree together, which makes the search into them more difficult. The sum of what has been gathered from them is to this purpose: They believe a God, but their notion of him is very different from ours; by him they understand a supreme Being, consisting of spirit and body, whose property it is to help and relieve men, that is, to give them a law, to teach them the true religion, with other arts and sciences that are useful to them. The perfections they attribute to him, are the union of all moral virtues, and that in the highest degree; they believe his agility to be such, as in a moment he can transport

¹ Historical Dictionary on the word Siam. See also an historical account of Siam, extracted out of the voyages of six Jesuits, sent there by the French king in 1685; and M. de la Louberie's embassy to the king of Siam, in Harris's Collect. vol. 2. pag. 465, &c.

transport himself at what distance he pleases; that he can appear, or make himself invisible as he will; that he knows all things, is the teacher of all men; that his body is more glorious than the sun; that he was brought forth in time, and does continue for ever; that he is become a god, after having obtained an absolutely perfect virtue in several bodies, through which his soul has passed from time to time, and divested his soul of all human passions and motions, by a great number of transmigrations; that he arrives at the highest felicity after he dies, never to be born again; and that he appears no more in the world. This death is to be understood of the eternal, which rest, say they, this god enjoys in heaven after a certain number of ages, during which he has filled up the number of the elect, whom he was to bring up to the state of saints; and then, they say, another takes his place, and governs the universe, that is to say, teaches men true religion. And this other god is a perfect man, who has merited to become a god by his good actions, and is arrived at the highest degree of holiness. Those who have lived well here, become saints, after they have attained abundance of virtues, and passed through many bodies where they have been purified from all manner of vices. For, to become a deity, an incomparable sanctity is required, such as is exempt from the least defect whatsoever.

They believe a Paradise and Hell, but suppose neither the pleasure of the one, nor the torments of the other eternal; the longer or shorter stay in the one or other is determined, according as one has done more good works, or committed more sins. Hell, according to them, is divided into eight

eight mansions, which are so many degrees of punishment; they believe also, there is a fire that burns the damned. They distinguish also eight degrees of bliss in heaven, in the three first of these, they suppose there are kings, princes, and people, and that in them the saints do marry.—They believe angels, but suppose them to have bodies of both sexes; they distribute them into seven ranks, or orders, allowing each order a different heaven, and that their office is to watch for the preservation of man, and to take care of the government of the universe; each part of the world has one of these intelligences to preside over it. They attribute angels to the stars, to the earth, to cities, mountains, forests, winds, rain, &c. they own no other devils but the souls of wicked men, who being got out of hell, wander for a time up and down the world, and do all the mischief to men they can. The god whom the Siamese at present worship is called Sommon-ok-hodam; and the Talapouns say, that his brother Thevat-hat became jealous of him, and waged war against him, but being unable to deprive him of his divinity, he set up a new religion, whence a multitude of other sects proceeded, and say the Christians have their religion from this Thevat-hat, who is punished in hell for persecuting his brother: and by this means endeavour to deter people from Christianity. Their doctors say, that Sommon-ok-hodam having taught the true religion to man, died never to be born again, and ascended to the eighth heaven, there to enjoy the most perfect bliss; his body was burnt, but his bones are preserved till now, which are of a wonderful virtue, and cast an amazing bright-

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ness to dazzle the eyes of spectators, as a certain mark of his divinity.

The Talapoins, who are the priests, religious, and teachers of the Siamese, are looked on as the true imitators of their God; they have little or no commerce with the world, they never salute any layman, no not the king himself. Their monasteries are so many colleges for the training up of youth, and all the children of persons of quality are sent thither, so soon as capable of instruction; they live abstemiously, and obey one head, who is the priest of the great Pagod at Siam, the capital of the kingdom. They are clothed in yellow linen, and have their heads shorn, are under a vow of chastity as long as priests, but may quit their priesthood and marry. They observe no particular rule, nor observe any day of the week set apart for their devotion, beside the days of the four quarters of the moon. They observe a kind of Lent, which lasts three months, during which, they abstain from several sorts of food; they pray for the dead, and bury them with abundance of ceremony: for beside music, without which no considerable person is ever buried, their funerals are often accompanied with stage representations and fire-works. They easily agree with those that are of a different religion, because they believe all men may be saved in their own way, if they exercise themselves in virtue and charity.

They give us this system of the world; they suppose the heaven and the earth to be increated and eternal, and cannot conceive the world ever had any beginning, or will have any end. The earth, according to them is, not round, but a flat superficies, which they divide into four square parts, separate

parate from each other by water; and the whole earth is inclosed with a prodigious high wall, on which are engraven in great characters all the secrets of nature. In the midst of these four parts of the world, there is a very high mountain; about which the sun and moon circulate continually, and by the daily revolution of these stars day and night is made. The earth has under it a vast depth of waters, which supports it, as the sea does a ship; and a violent wind, which blows continually, keeps the waters that support the earth from falling down. These are their extravagant notions.

They have very magnificent Pagods or temples; the most sumptuous, is that in the king's palace at Siam; at the gate, there is a cow on the one side, and on the other a most hideous monster: the inside glitters with gold; the walls, the ceiling, and all the pillars and figures are so well gilt, that they seem to be all covered with plates of gold. After one is entered the temple, there stands a kind of altar, on which there are four figures of massy gold, much about the height of a man, that sits cross-legged, as the custom is in Siam; a little further is a choir, where is the richest Pagod or idol of the kingdom, the name being given both to the idol, and to the temple. The statue is standing, and with his head toucheth the roof of the temple; it is about forty-five feet high, and seven or eight broad, and yet all of gold; according to the proportion, it cannot be less than 100 feet square, all of gold, that is 12,500 pounds of this metal, for one foot square of gold weighs 125 pound, and accordingly the idol must be worth at least above twelve millions and five hundred thousand French livres. They say, this prodigious colof-

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lus was cast in the very place where it stands, and afterwards the temple built over it. At the sides of this colossus, there are several other statues of less size, which are likewise of gold, and adorned with precious stones.

The kingdom of Pegu is adjacent to Siam, in the same peninsula of India beyond the Ganges. In the year 1567, the king of Pegu besieged Siam, with, as says my author, 1,400,000 men^u, and took it after one and twenty months; at that time he had 26 crowned kings his vassals, with vast treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones. In 1568, there was a great war between these two kings, occasioned by a white elephant which the latter refused to sell the former: many particulars in these wars, and horrid heathenish cruelties exercised in them, are described by Manuel di Faria, in his Portuguese Asia, which here I pass. The people of Pegu are Pagans, excepting some who have made alliance with the Europeans, and embraced their religion. These Pagans believe, that God is the author of all the good that befalls men, but that he leaves the disposal of all evil to a wicked angel, wherefore they have a greater veneration for a wicked angel than they have for God. Their priests are called Talapoi, and live upon alms, they highly exclaim against the offerings made by the people of Pegu to the devil, but cannot abolish that impiety. Adultery, sodomy, and all uncleanness, is very common among them. In the king's palace is a Varelle or Mosque, full of Pagods, that is, of idols made of massy gold and silver, crowned with precious stones, and adorned with

^u Great Hist Dictionary, edit. 1694. on the word Pegu.

with chains of diamonds, of an inestimable value. They keep holiday every new moon, believe the transmigration of souls, and honour their idols with festivals, in which wax lights are burnt before them.

Many other Pagan kingdoms in the East Indies agree in the same rites of idolatrous worship with those already described. I fear I should be too tedious, if I should particularly examine all of them. Goa, in the kingdom of Decan, in the peninsula of India on this side the Ganges, is almost the only place the Portuguese possess in the East-Indies, of all their great conquests, being dispossessed of the rest by the English, Dutch, and Danes; here the natives have such a veneration for monkies, that they build them Pagods, and worship them. In New Holland, Dampier says*, "The natives are idolaters, and a most coarse and unpolished people; like those of Monomotapa in Africa.

Tonquin is a considerable kingdom in the East Indies, near Pegu and Siam; in ancient times it depended upon China, but these 600 years last past it has been governed by its own kings. The natives are Pagans, and are divided into three sects; the first takes its original from the old philosopher Confucius, whose memory is very famous in China, and most of the neighbouring kingdoms; they of this sect believe, that, when a man dies, his soul dissipates into the air; they sacrifice to the sun, moon, and other planets, and have four principal gods, and one goddess. The Gods are called Brama, Raumu, Betolo; and Ramonu; and the name of the goddess

* Voyage round the World, vol. 1. chap. 15. Historical Dictionary on the word Tonquin, from Tavernier

goddess is Satibana. But the king, the mandarins, or lords of the court, and the learned men, adore only the sky. The second sect came from a Hermit, called Chacabant, who left them several commands, and the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. The third is that of Lanthu, a famous magician, who taught part of Chacabant's doctrine, and joined some precepts concerning charity and the care of the poor. The Tonquinois adore three things in their houses, the heart or household god, an idol they call Tienfie, which is as the patron of all arts and callings; and Buabin, which they invoke to make their houses happy. Some of them adore the five parts of the earth, for they place a fifth in the middle of the other four; and in worshipping these, they have for each its particular colour: for when they sacrifice to the north, their cloth, table, dishes, and all are black; when they adore the south, they are clad in red; in green for the East, and white for the west; and for that in the middle of the world, they wear yellow. I think we have enough of them; he that would see more, may read Tavernier's relation of Tonquin. The like superstitions are used in Cochin China, Tfiompa, Montabadan, Cambodia, Malacca, and some neighbouring parts of the East Indies, which I shall not particularly insist upon. May God of his goodness banish all these idolatrous rites, and promote true religion in the life and power of it, according to his holy word, among them.

I design to discourse more fully concerning the state of religion in China, in the following chapter, and therefore shall write but very little concerning their idolatry and superstition in this.

Monfieur

Monfieur Le Comte fays *, idolatry did not begin with the commencement of the Chinefe Empire, but prevailed in fucceeding ages; it was introduced firft with the ufe of magic. The profeflors of this art are called Tienfee, heavenly doctors; they live in fociety in great numbers, they covenant with the devil, caft lots, and perform magical wonders, whereby they delude the people, and increafe their own reputation. Another feft, is of thofe who worship the idol Fo, brought from the Indies, as they fay, 32 years after Chrif's death; of which idol they tell wonders, that he did go as foon as born, and fpeak, faying, "In heaven and earth I am the only perfon that deferves to be worfhipped:" yet he died at 79 years of age, and the Bonzes or priefts worship him. Yea, they adore the ape, the elephant, and the dragon, they fet them up in their temples, and offer meat, incense and prayers to them; but if they be offended, and get not their askings, they give them ill names and blows too. The Bonzes tell fick people, "That after death their fouls will transmigrate into horfes, mares," &c. which fo frightened an old man, that he fent for our author and turned Chriftian. But 'tis not eafy to tell all the ridiculous ftories of their fuperftition; their religious ceremonies, opinions and morals are very different, fince every day the Bonzes invent new whimsies. There are fome Mahometans in China. The emperor endeavours to procure the people's favour, and therefore fhews refpect to the Bonzes, yet does not liften to all their fopperies, though he believes one God.

* *Memoirs of China, letter 10.*

State reasons hinder him from receiving the truths of the gospel, which is a great obstacle to its progress. But the power of God, which, says Le Comte, hath confounded many idols, overthrown their temples, made viceroys, ministers of state, and one empress submit to Christianity, can conquer all these difficulties.

Corea lies in the north-east coast of China. A Dutch vessel that was shipwrecked there, gives this account of the state of religion with them. The Corefians^a have scarce any religion, nor do they respect their idols half so much as other barbarous nations do. They believe, however, that virtue shall be rewarded, and vice punished in the other world; and their whole country swarms with religious men and women, much of the same nature with those that are in Roman Catholic countries, from whom, besides several other points, they differ in this, viz. "That 'tis lawful for any man in Corea, to go in and come out of a monastery when he pleases; and their king may make such alterations as he sees fit, in all affairs of this nature."

Having considered the state of Paganism in the continent of Asia, I shall now take a view of the same, in some of the principal islands.

I begin with Ceylon, which is a pleasant isle in the Indian sea, on this side the Ganges, near cape Comori. Bochart hath endeavoured to prove, that 'tis not only the Ophir of Solomon, but also the Taprobane of the ancients, mentioned by Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy. The last of these authors makes Taprobane much bigger than Ceylon at

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^a Harris's complete Collection of Voyages, vol. 2. Appendix, p. 99.

this day is; but this does not weaken Bochart's reasoning, since the islanders assert, "That the sea has gained upon, and overflowed a great part of the land." The Dutch now are masters of most of the maritime towns there, that were once possessed by the Portuguese. Here are all kind of drugs, with cinnamon, precious stones, gold and pearls; which last, are fished up in the streights between this isle and the firm land. There is a mountain, called the Pic of Adam, esteemed the highest in all the East Indies, in the middle of the island. "The natives, says Hornbeck^b, called Singales, conceive here was paradise, and that Adam was created there, or at least driven thither, as to the middle of the world, there to be buried; and shew the print of his feet upon stones." The natives are Pagans, and own one supreme God, and that he has delivered the care of affairs to inferiors, of whom they have many different idols and images; they worship elephants, and white apes, especially one, which, they say, was once a God, but for some fault or other was turned out of heaven, and changed into a monkey. They shew a precious relique of a tooth kept in a Pagod, upon the Pic of Adam, worshipped yearly by a multitude of people and pilgrims who resort thither. When the Portuguese came into the isle, in the year 1554, they seized this mountain, and Pagod, conceiving, that by the famed sanctity of the place, and the multitude of pilgrims who resort thither, they would find great riches. But they found nothing, save a little chest adorned with precious stones, where they kept this tooth, which they

^b De Conversione Indorum, lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 47.

they carried off. To recover it, the kings of Ceylon, Pegu, Siam, Bengala, and Bismagar, sent to the viceroy of Portugal ambassadors, offering, beside other gifts, seven hundred thousand ducats of gold; but the Portuguese archbishop Gaspar dissuaded them from delivering up the idol, saying, "It would turn to the reproach of the Christians, that they allowed Pagans the use of their idols for a piece of money. Therefore, he caused the tooth to be burnt in the view of its admirers, and scattered the ashes into the air. Some Benjans understanding the grief their people were in for this loss, deluded them, saying, the tooth was found, which by a miracle they recovered out of the hands of the Portuguese, another being put in the room thereof, which they ignorantly burnt for the true one; and, that it was confirmed by the oracle of a Pagod, this was the true tooth they shewed them. The people easily believed, and the king of Bismagar gave the deceivers a round sum for the tooth, and ordered every body to esteem and worship it, as they had done the former.

Robert Knox, who had been captive in Ceylon near twenty years, viz. from 1659 to 1679, wrote a history of that island, printed in a thin folio, in the year 1681, which may give some satisfaction to the curious, concerning the natural and political state of the country. I shall only remark a few things from this author, to our present purpose. He says^c, the religion of the country is idolatry; there are many gods and devils they worship under particular names; they acknowledge one to be supreme, whom they call, Ossa

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^c Knox's history of Ceylon, p. 72.

poll Maup Dio, which signifies the creator of heaven and earth, who still rules and governs the same. This great supreme God, they hold, sends forth other deities to see his will and pleasure executed in the world, and these are petty and inferior Gods; these, say they, are the souls of good men, who formerly lived upon the earth. There are devils also, which are the inflictors of sickness and misery upon men. There is another great God, whom they call Biddon, to whom the salvation of the soul belongs; they believe him once to have come to the earth, and that when he was there, he did usually sit under a large shady tree, called Bogahah, which trees, ever since, are counted holy; and under them to this day, with great solemnity, they celebrate his worship: he departed from the earth, off the top of the highest mountain, called Pico Adam, where there is an impression like a foot, which they say is his.

“ These people worship devils, and offer them sacrifices; they dedicate a red cock to the devil^d, which the Taddefe, or Priest, of whom they have several sorts, consecrates. The devil domineers over them; they say their country is so full of devils and evil spirits, that unless they should adore them, they would be destroyed by them. Christians, they own, have a prerogative above them, and are not under the power of these infernal spirits. I have many times, says our author, seen men and women among this people strangely possessed, insomuch as I could judge it nothing

^d Knox's history of Ceylon, p. 75—77.

thing else but the effect of the devil's power upon them, and they sometimes acknowledge it is so. I never observed any who did profess to be a worshipper of the holy name of Jesus, in the like condition. Some of them run mad into woods, screeching and roaring; some will be taken speechless, shaking, quaking, and dancing, will tread on the fire, and not be hurt, and talk like distracted folk." He adds, "This for certain I can affirm, that oftentimes the devil does cry with an audible voice in the night, very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog. The voice is heard only in Candu-Uda, the metropolis of the country, never in the low lands. They prepare an offering of victuals ready dressed, one dish whereof is always a red cock, which they as frequently offer to the devil, as papists wax candles to the saints. They go often a begging charity for Biddou, towards his sacrifice: they give ordinarily oil for his lamps, rice for his sacrifice, and money or cotton-yarn for his use. If their children be born under any evil or unlucky planet, as they call it, or if the astrologer say so, they kill the poor infants."

According to this author, 'tis no wonder the Christian Religion has made little or no progress in this island, for he says, near the end of this book, "If any enquire into the religious exercise and worship practised among the Christians

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here,

*Knox's history of Ceylon, p. 78.
p. 188.

† Ibid. p. 94.

‡ Ibid.

here, I am sorry, I must say, I can give but a slender account of it; for they have no churches, no priests, and so no meetings on the Lord's day, for divine worship, but each one reads or prays in his own house, as he is disposed; they sanctify the day chiefly by refraining from work, and meeting together at drinking-houses: they continue the practice of baptism, but having no priests, they baptize their children themselves, with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and give them Christian names; they have their friends about them at such a time, and make a small feast, according to their ability. Some teach their children to say prayers, and read, and some do not. Indeed their religion is at best but negative; they do not comply with the idolatry here practised, and in general profess themselves Christians, as appears by their names: beads and crosses some of them wear about their necks; but this is all. Nor can I wholly clear them from complying with the religion of the country, for some of them, when sick, use the ceremonies which the heathens do in the like case; as in making idols of clay, setting them up in their houses, offering rice to them, and having weavers to dance before them; but they are ashamed to be seen to do this, and I have known none to do it, but such as are Indian born. Yet I never knew any of them, who in heart and conscience incline to the ways of the Heathen, but perfectly abhor them; nor have there been any I ever heard of, that came to their temples on any religious account, but only stand and look on, except one old priest, named Padre Vergeance, a Genoese born, and of the Jesuits order, who would go to
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the temples, and eat with the weavers, or other ordinary people, of the sacrifices offered to the idols, but with this apology for himself, that he eat it as common meat, and as God's creature, and that it was never the worse for the superstition passed upon it. But enough at this time of Ceylon."

The Maldives are a great number of islands, some reckon above 12000 of them; but some of these are only uninhabited sandy hillocks; they cross the equator, and run from the south to the south-west toward the coast of Malabar, lying in thirteen clusters. The inhabitants are generally Mahometans, and therefore I leave them, and pass to

Sumatra, which is one of the three greatest isles in the Sound in the East Indies: it lies near Borneo, and the promontory of Malacca; it extends from north-west to south-east, 910 English miles; its greatest breadth being of 210; there are several kingdoms in it: it is divided by the equinoctial line, into almost two equal parts, which makes the air very hot and unhealthy; the ground produces abundance of aromatics. The natives are generally heathens, but about 230 years since, by the diligence of some Arabian merchants trading thither, Mahometanism began to spread upon the coastsⁿ.

Toward the south of Borneo and Sumatra, lies the isle of Java, about 200 leagues in length, and 50 in breadth; it was formerly subject to many princes, now there are but two in it, the one of Bantam, and the other of Materan, who is stiled the emperor of Java; the country is very fruitful in aromatics. The Dutch made themselves masters

ⁿ Heylin's Cosmography, Edit. Lond. 1652. folio, p. 254.

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^h Heylin's Cosmography, Edit. Lond. 1652. folio, p. 254.

ters of Jacatra, one of the principal cities of the isle, in 1617; 'tis now the residence of the chief of the company, and the best bank in the Indies: Indeed the Hollanders have a greater power in the isles of Java and Sumatra, where they have several forts, than the kings themselves, and in a manner are their masters. In matters of religion, the people of Java are Mahometans, or Gentiles, according to the humour of their kings.

A little to the north of Java, lies the large isle of Borneo, so called from a city of that name; it lies between the 7th degree, 30 minutes, north latitude, and 4th degree 10 minutes of south, under the equinoctial, which divides it into two unequal parts; it is in length 700 miles, in breadth 480, and in circuit about 2000; it is counted the biggest island, not only in the Indian sea, but perhaps in the whole world. Most of the inhabitants are Mahometans, but the inland people, called Byajos, are Pagans: they are an idle sort of people, hating industry or trade, and living generally upon rapine, and the spoil of their neighbours. They go naked, and only have a small piece of cloth that covers their privities: they make offerings to the devil. Captain Beekman¹, who staid some years in that country, says, that even the Mahometans there retain some Pagan customs; some of the wisest of them, have not such an aversion to Christianity, as the Mahometans in other places, who generally are professed enemies to it. But here they speak very respectfully of Jesus Christ, and say, he was a great prophet; they believe that Adam was the first man, that the world was once

drowned,

¹ Captain Daniel Beekman's voyage to Borneo, printed at London, in 1718. 8vo pag 43 & pag 126.

drowned², which they have reason to do, seeing yearly such deluges in their own country; and they believe, that there are people in the world, though none among them, whom they call Oran Moosa, meaning the Jews, who, they say, follow only the law of Moses, rejecting the doctrine of both Mahomet and Jesus. Captain Beeckman adds,¹ “I cannot think it would be a difficult matter to establish the Christian religion among them: it is true, the Romish missionaries attempted it formerly, but after making many profelytes, they ruined their own design, and lost their lives by their obstinacy and indiscreet zeal. Cay Deponattee, a man of the greatest character for probity among them, told me, that several years ago, there came into those parts a Portuguese padre, or monk, who, by his courteous behaviour, gained a great many to the Christian religion; but not content to preach among them, he must needs venture up the inland country, among the barbarous people, called Byajos, by whom he was cruelly murdered. Some few years ago, long after the former was dead, there came another, who spoke the language as well as a native of that country: by his presents, particularly of linen, and his shew of having so little value for money, assuring them, that his voyage thither, was not out of any motive of worldly interest, but to save their souls; he insinuated himself mightily into their favour, and made great progress while among the Banjarens. But after some time, he told them, that the spirit of his deceased brother had appeared to him, telling him, how he was slain

¹ Captain Daniel Beeckman's voyage to Borneo, printed at London, in 1718. 8vo. pag. 122. ² Ibid. pag. 123, — 126 —

slain in the inland country, and ordering him to come thither; that accordingly he must go to the place where his brother was murdered. The Banjareens had great love and respect for him, and used all means to dissuade him, particularly this Cay Deponatsee. However, all was in vain, for he was resolved to go, and said, if they put him to death, he would glory in his sufferings. Accordingly he went, and made many profelytes, who built him a church, and were ready even to worship him; till at last they began to be discontented, and murmur at the great expence he put them to, in adorning their church with gold, &c. and more especially, because he had not performed his promise, of shewing them all their deceased friends, whom indeed he promised they should see in the other world; but they understood that it was to be in this world, neither could he beat that notion out of their heads. So that, taking him for a false prophet and impostor, since his words did not prove as they understood them, they put the poor man to a most cruel death, and demolished the church, which they looked upon as a decoy to cheat them of all their riches. Now, had he staid among the Banjareens, I doubt not but he might have succeeded in his designs, and have converted the whole civilized part of the country: by which means, and by the influence and power of these people, the gospel might have been more easily propagated among that other barbarous, savage nation. Neither was there less imprudence, in endeavouring to persuade them so soon to part with their riches, which they are so fond of, to embellish churches; for that could be done in due time, when they were better instructed in the principles

principles of Christianity. Nor do I see what necessity there was for such mighty ornaments, more than the apostles required in the primitive times, among much more civilized and sensible nations; but no good ever comes of blind zeal." So far concerning Borneo, what is said may be a warning to other missionaries, to join prudence with zeal.

The Sunda or Celebes, are a set of islands to the south-east of Borneo; the people for the most part are Heathens, intermixed on the sea-coasts with some Mahometans.

The Moluccas are a cluster of isles, to the east of the Celebes, famous for aromatics; the Dutch have engrossed that trade, expelling the Spaniards, Portuguese and others. The natives for the most part are Heathen idolaters, with some Mahometans on the sea-coasts. The isle of Banda is famous for nutmegs; the natives are Mahometans or Gentiles.

The Philippines, are a cluster of islands in the Indian sea, between China and the Moluccas; they were so called, because they were first possessed by the Spaniards, in the reign of Philip the second: the Portuguese named them Manillas, the chief of them being so called; the Indians call them Luzones: authors affirm there are above 1300 of them. They were discovered in the year 1520, by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese, who was killed there, in the isle of Cebu: but were not inhabited by the Spaniards till 1564. In the Paris edition of the Jesuits Letters, by one dated at Carouvepondi, in the kingdom of Carnate, January 1. 1702, 'tis affirmed these missionaries have made a discovery of a great many more Philip-
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pine islands than were before known^m, and give a chart of them. The Dutch East-India company have almost ruined the trade of the Spaniards in these parts, and occasioned a desertion of a great many of these islands from them. Some of the natives are Mahometans, but the greater part are Pagans, who worship sun, moon and stars, which they hold to be the children of the sun and moon: their priests are for most part women, who are forcerers and prophetesses; they worship the devil in ugly shapes, and whatever they meet first in the morning, unless it be some lizard or worm, which are held unlucky, and make them leave their business and return home. They use to deck their idols with ostrich feathers; at sacrificing a hog, they sound cymbals: two old women, with pipes of reed, reverence the sun, and in their sacred garments, with hair-laces and horns on the head of the elder, dance about the hog, muttering certain words to the sun; then a cup of wine is poured on the hog's head, by the elder of these two hags, who at last kills the beast, and takes into her mouth a burning torch, which she bitesⁿ; the other witch, with the swine's blood, marks the foreheads of all present, and then they fall to dressing the hog, which the women only eat up. Leaving the Philippines, I pass to

Formosa, which is an isle that lies upon the east side of China, to the north of the Philippines, 24 leagues from China, 150 from Japan, and is about 130 in circuit: it abounds in cinnamon and ginger, and hath some mines of gold; the inhabitants

obey

^m Letters Edifiantes & Curieuses écrites par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 6. ⁿ Rossi's Pausania, pag 79. from Ant Pegasus, and Nott's navigation.

obey neither king nor sovereign, but like a sort of republicans, giving the government of every town to twelve senators, whom they change at the end of two years. The Portuguese had possession here, from the time of their conquests in the Indies, till the year 1635, when they were expelled by the Dutch^o. The women are their priests, and perform all the functions of their Pagan worship; they adore several gods, one who presides over the south, whom they call Tamagisangah, his wife in the east, whom they call Tekarpuda; when it thunders in the east, they say the wife is chiding her husband for hindering rain; and then it quickly comes^p. They have another god in the north, whom they call Soufano, who is the author of calamities, and they worship him, that he may not send them. Other deities they have, that they call upon in wars and battles, which are frequent in this country; and another idol, which is worshipped by people who desire long life; it is the image of a fat, lusty old man, with a hart and an ape standing by him: for they conceive, to feed on deers flesh, tends to prolong the life.

Mr. George Candidus, a Dutch minister, who resided at the factory of that nation in Formosa, a considerable time, reports^q, that women only are employed in their sacred things; they believe the immortality of the soul, but entertain ridiculous notions about the distribution of rewards and punishments in another world; for they look upon the grossest immoralities as trifles, and make heinous vices meritorious among them: for example, their

^o Great Historical Dictionary on Formosa.

^p Hornbeeck de Converse Indorum, pag. 50.

^q Harris's complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. 2. appendix, pag. 40.

their priestesses forbid all women to bring any children into the world, till their mothers be past the age of thirty-six; and accordingly the infants are murdered in the mother's womb, by these inhuman priestesses, who thereby put the mother to more torment than if their children were born into the world, in the ordinary manner.—Their worship, says he, I think, of all nations under the sun, is the most impious and abominable; for these infernal priestesses, whom they call Inibs, after abundance of ridiculous ceremonies, pretending their Gods have appeared to them, strip themselves of all their clothes, in the presence of the whole congregation, and address their deities in that posture with their impious prayers, in a long and tedious harangue.—Murder is but a trifle, with them, and is made up between the relations of the defunct, and the murderer, for a few skins, or some such trifle. But I am weary of these abominations, may God of his grace deliver these people from them, by the light of the glorious gospel.

I proceed now to Japan, which is an island, or cluster of islands, whereof Japan is the chief, lying eastward of China, between the 31st and 34th degrees of north latitude, and 171st and 178th of longitude, about 12 days passage from China, from which country they have borrowed their religion and learning; in matters doubtful, they appeal to their practice. The Portuguese discovered these isles in the year 1542. Francis Xavier, a Jesuit, in the year 1549, preached the Roman faith there, with so much success, that his brethren pretend they had made 200000 converts; but these apostatized so fast, that there was scarce one of them

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to be found there seven years after. I design to give some account of Xavier's life in the following chapter, and therefore in this place shall only remark, that the sudden conversion of these proselytes, their surprising apostasy, their being baptized before they were ever instructed in the Christian Faith, and the many lying miracles which the Jesuits boast were done by him, makes me give little credit to the numbers they say he converted. Indeed the Bonzes in Japan were great enemies to the progress of Christianity there, not so much by disputing, as by a method the Papists themselves use, arming the secular power; and at last they drove the emperor to such violences, as wholly to extirpate it in his dominions, and to enlarge the martyrology of the Jesuits, as he did in the year 1636. The ingenuous confession of a Spaniard gives some colour for the precaution of these infidels. The Spaniard being asked by the king of Tasso, how the king of Spain conquered so great tracts of land in both hemispheres? he too honestly answered, "That he sent monks to preach in foreign nations, and after they had converted a good number of Pagans, he sent his troops, who joining with the new converts, subdued the country." This imprudent answer cost the Christians very dear.

'Tis also alledged, that the Dutch raised base calumnies against these new proselytes in Japan, which in part occasioned a terrible persecution against them, whereby these merchants obtained their design to worm the Portuguese out of the trade of these rich islands, which they now possess, secluding all others. This is not the only instance of the unjustifiable methods the Hollanders have

have used, to engross to themselves the riches and trade of the East Indies. The tragedy acted by them upon the English in Amboyana, one of the Molucca islands in the year 1618, is another monument, that they stick at nothing to gain their purposes; of which a particular account may be seen in a little book entitled, *The History of the cruelties and massacres committed by the Dutch in the East Indies*, by Robert Hall, printed at London in 1712, in 8vo. and 'tis also printed in the *Appendix to Harris's complete Collection of Travels*.

The persecution of missionaries continues to this day in Japan; for I find in the public news from Madrid, January 30th, 1720, the following paragraph. "We have received letters from Madraspatan in the East Indies, of the 25th of December 1718, That advice was come to that place, that the abbot John Baptist Sidotti, a Sicilian, died in the country of Japan, in the torments he suffered for the Christian faith; his zeal for the conversion of infidels induced him to go into that country, notwithstanding the severe laws of that government, whereby all Europeans in general, and most particularly missionaries, are forbid coming there. He was no sooner arrived, but he was taken up, and condemned to die; he was sent to the governor of the province, and after some small liberty allowed him, it being discovered he had converted some of the people of Japan to the Christian faith, a very extraordinary punishment was inflicted upon him; for the infidels immured him with his hands tied between two walls, built so close, that he could not stir himself, allowing him no other

food

food than a little rice and water every evening. This torment soon put an end to his life; he died about the beginning of the year 1714."

The Japanese are now almost wholly Pagans. Monsieur Bale gives the following account of them from the abbot de T——'s history of Japan, which being the fullest I have met with, I here insert it^f. The monarchy of Japan, says he, is divided into two states, ecclesiastic and secular; the first is composed of Bonzes, a name common to all the ministers of the Japanese gods; they profess a celibacy, but do not observe it exactly; they abstain from flesh, shave their beards and hair, and conceal their debaucheries under the appearance of an austere life; they have a sovereign whom they call Jaco or Xaco, who has authority over all the rest of the judges, in affairs of religion, and determines what ought to be practised concerning the worship of the gods, and believed concerning the nature of them; he elects the Tandes, who dispose of things less important, and represent, in some manner, our bishops. They have two sorts of gods; the first are dæmons, whom they worship under several figures, not in hopes of receiving good from them, but from fear of being hurt by them. The second sort are kings, conquerors, and wise men, whom they have placed in the number of their gods; the two principal are Amida and Xaca, the first is represented under several monstrous figures: in one of his temples which is at Jedo, he is carried on a horse with seven heads; the finest of his temples is at Meaco, it is 500 feet in length, there are in it a thousand idols

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^f Bale's Critical Dictionary on the word Japan.

of massy gold. As for Saca or Xaca, the Bonzes tell a thousand impertinent stories of him: they say he was born 800 times in different species before he was born of a woman; that when he was born, he came out of his mother's womb, eating his way with his teeth.—The truth is, Xaca was a sophister, who persuaded the people every thing he had a mind to: his mother, big with child of him, dreamed that a white elephant came out of her mouth, for which reason, elephants of that colour, in several places of the Indies, as China, Tonquin, Siam, and Pegu, are served in vessels of gold, and great lords go in crowds to visit them, and pay them honours as kings. One of the three principal sects of the Japanese, is that of the worshippers of Xaca, they live in common, rise at midnight, sing hymns, and meet every morning to hear a subject of discourse their superiors make on some moral subject; when it is over, one gives his superior an account of his thoughts, and the resolutions he has taken. They reckon a dozen sects or religious in Japan, every one is at liberty to chuse which he pleases, which occasions divisions; because, say they, understandings have no tie of relations, like bodies. Among these there are three principal; the first hope not for a life after this, and know no other substance than what strikes their senses; the second believe the immortality of the soul, and another life: this is followed by the best sort of people, and is called *The sect of the most high God*. The third is that of the worshippers of Xaca. Some authors, says Possevin, maintain, That the most general division that can

be

be made of the sects of the Japanese, is to rank under them such as make profession of sticking to Appearance, and others that seek Reality, which does not strike sense, which they call Truth. Those that stick to Appearance admit another life after this, for eternal recompence of good men, and punishment of bad. They say, that in four cardinal points of the world, there are certain countries, where the inhabitants are in a plenary satisfaction, which makes them enjoy a supreme felicity. That Frotoque made all the laws of Japan, and they who observe them shall no sooner leave this life, than they shall go into those places where they shall be born again; Frotoque shall transform them, and give 32 figures, and 80 qualities, with which they shall live eternally in a perfect beatitude. The women shall not be admitted into these countries, but those who shall be saved by observing the laws of Frotoque, shall be transformed into men. As for transgressors of his laws, they shall go from this life to infernal places, and shall suffer six sorts of punishments, which shall never have an end. This is the opinion of the ignorant and vulgar. Those who seek internal, insensible Reality, reject heaven and hell, and teach things which have a great affinity with Spinoza's opinion; they symbolize with the Epicureans, taking from God the government of the world, as a thing contrary to his supreme tranquillity, which, according to them, is all his felicity. Nay, they go further than Epicurus, for they deprive God of understanding and reason. Possévin censures the institutes of the Japanese legislature; 1st, That they command idolatry, chiefly the worship of Camus and Frotoque. 2^{dly}, That when they forbid the

Bonzes the use of women, they allow Pederastie, or Sodomy; they prohibit the former as abominable, and allow the latter as honest and holy. 3dly, They forbid to kill certain beasts consecrated to Camus and Frotoque, and yet allow men to kill one another, yea even to be their own murderers in a most barbarous manner. Hornbeck tells us^u, That some of the Japanese, pretending to religion, throw themselves headlong from a high castle in honour of a neighbouring idol, or go out to sea in a boat, with a hook to cut the briars and thorns that hinder the way to the seats of the blessed, and boring a hole in the bottom of the boat, and binding stones to their neck, arms, and feet, they drown themselves with or without the vessel; which, if it float, their friends in another boat take it up and burn it, thinking it indecent that such a sacred relic should be converted to common uses; and to such martyrs they erect temples and monuments, which, in honour of the deceased, are religiously frequented. Others shut themselves up in a den within the earth, where they breathe through a pipe, and call on their god Amida, till they be killed with hunger. Among these wretches, the devil hath so many martyrs. Yea, he says, that the Japanese have 13000 idols, of whom none are wanting in the king's court. Finally, the laws of Japan declare, "That by the invocation of Namuam-dabut, all crimes may be expiated, without any kind of repentance." To such a height of wickedness and superstition do men go, when they want divine revelation!

There

^u De Conversione Indorum, pag. 54. sect. ult. & pag. 55.

There are some parts of Asia not yet discovered, called Terra Australis incognita, where the people we suppose are Heathens, but we have no information concerning them. I have seen a history of the Severaites or Severambi, a people in that continent, said to be written by one captain Siden^x, who, with many others, were shipwrecked on those coasts, and lived many years in the country. The story is diverting enough, and he describes them as a very polite people; but I look on it as a romance.

Neither do I know of any other considerable country in Asia beside those we have discoursed of, generally inhabited by Heathens. As to the large territories possessed by Mahometans, and Christians of the Greek church tolerated among them, my present design does not oblige me to give any account of them.

What hath already been said in the first and fifth chapters of this essay, concerning the Unity of God, the Truth of the Christian religion, and the Vanity of Paganism, does abundantly discover the absurdity of all the idolatry and superstition these heathenish countries are guilty of. The same may be observed of the Heathens in Africa and America. The Christian religion, when rightly understood, is one and the same; 'tis agreeable to sound reason, and founded upon one infallible rule, "The holy word of God:" but all these Pagan religions are so unreasonable, as to overturn themselves, and so widely disagreeing, being founded upon no certain rule, as to refute and overturn one another. This then confirms what hath been
above

above demonstrated, of the insufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to true happiness, and of the necessity of divine revelation; since these religions, invented by men, or by the enemy of mankind, are so absurd and soul-ruining. And finally, the deplorable condition these heathenish countries are in, should move our bowels of pity to plead at the throne of grace for their conversion, and to use our utmost endeavours to effectuate it, that both we and they may be members of the same mystical body of Christ, and may serve him as those redeemed by his merit, and sanctified by his spirit; then *shall the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever; then shall piety and holiness revive, the righteousness of Zion go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth.* But of this more afterward, mean time I pass to

Africa: The southern parts thereof, infected with Gentilism, which lie toward the Ethiopic ocean, were first discovered to us in Europe by Vasco di Gama, when, by the direction of the king of Portugal, he sailed into the East-Indies, in the year 1497. The northern parts of Africa, that lie towards the Mediterranean sea, had once many beautiful Christian churches; Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Augustine, Fulgentius, and other fathers of the primitive church, lived in these bounds. There, many councils of the Christians assembled, particularly that of Carthage, under Aurelius their bishop, in the year 419, where legates from the rest of the provinces, as the Numidias, Byzacen, Mauritania, Tripoli, and the rest of the proconsular Africa, were present. But

now,

now, alas! all these places are sadly over-run with Mahometanism.

There are few Christian churches now to be found in Africa, except those in the large country of Abyssinia, called the empire of Prester John, containing the great and higher Ethiopia, a kingdom 1500 miles long, and half as broad. Because the history of that church may be instructing to every body, and particularly useful to missionaries, I here insert an abstract thereof. Michael Geddes, doctor of divinity, during his nine years residence at Lisbon, furnished himself with all the Portuguese books that do any way concern Ethiopia, and has given us a curious history of that church. From him principally I shall offer some account of their affairs. It is a constant tradition among them, that the queen of Sheba, who went to visit Solomon, was empress in their country; her name, they say, was Maqueda: within a few weeks after she returned home, she was delivered of a son, begot by Solomon, called Meneleher^y; when he was of age, he went to Jerusalem, where his father entertained him kindly, and instructed him in the Jewish religion, changing his name to that of David, he sent home with him priests and Levites to instruct his country. 'Tis also reported among them, that the eunuch who was baptized by Philip the deacon, was steward to their empress, who returning home after his baptism, converted his mistress, and her whole empire to the Christian religion, in the profession whereof they have since continued steadfast. These things are uncertain.

But

^y Geddes's history of Ethiopia, printed at London 1696. in 8vo.

But we find it recorded by Ruffinus², that in the beginning of the fourth century, one Meropius, a Christian philosopher in Tyre, going into India with two of his scholars, Frumentius and Edefius, had the misfortune to touch on the coast of Ethiopia, where Meropius was murdered by the natives; but his two scholars having their lives spared, and being found to be youths of fine parts as well as beauty, they were carried to court, where Frumentius was put into the secretary's office, and Edefius made butler. When the emperor came to die, he gave them both their liberty; but as they were preparing to return home, the queen regent importuned them to stay, and undertake the tutelage of her son, till he was of age; which they consenting to do, during that time wrote to all the Roman merchants residing in the ports of Ethiopia, who were Christians, to assemble together to worship God, as they did daily. When their pupil the young king came to administer the government, they both desired leave to return home; which being obtained with great difficulty, Edefius went to Tyre to live with his relations, and Frumentius went directly to Alexandria: thinking it unreasonable to conceal this doing of the Lord, he reported the same to Athanasius, then bishop of that place, desiring him to provide some proper persons, and send them to edify the Church of Christ in these bounds. Athanasius, overjoyed with the news, said to Frumentius, "Whom can we find so proper as yourself, in whom the Spirit of God is?" and for that end ordained him. He returning to the country, which

² Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 9.

which Ruffinus indeed calls India, but this being a general name the Romans gave to those parts they were not acquainted with, it is probable, by the context of the story, that it was the higher Ethiopia, or Abyssinia; there he did convert an incredible number of these people to the Christian faith; for he had given him an apostolical spirit, and to this day the Christian church and priesthood continues in that country. Ruffin says, he had this account from the mouth of Edeus, a presbyter at Tyre, the companion of Frumentius. Frumentius continued orthodox, in opposition to the Arians, even to the time of the emperor Constantius, as appears by his letter to the princes of Axum, recorded in Athanasius's apology. About the year 480, nine monks are said to have been sent from Rome into Ethiopia. The emperor Justinian being engaged in a war with the Persians in the year 530, sent one Julian ambassador to the king of the Axumites, or African Ethiopians, and to the king of the Homerites, a nation inhabiting the Asiatic coast of the Red Sea opposite to Ethiopia, to engage them, being Christians, to assist him against the Persians, the common enemy of their religion. These are some hints of the ancient history of the church of Ethiopia, which are also observed by Dr. Geddes^a.

But there are two things I shall principally remark concerning that church, their doctrine and the methods the church of Rome have used to subject them to the Pope, with the success of the same. As to their doctrine and religious rites, in Abyssinia any who inclines to be a monk, retires
to

^a Church history of Ethiopia, pag 15,—29.

to a desert, where he puts on what habit he pleaseth, so long as they profess themselves monks, which they are always at liberty to give over: they are obliged to fast every day in the year till three o'clock in the afternoon, and to assemble at midnight and other stated hours for devotion. They are very strict in their fasts, some of them never eating but on Sundays. Their monasteries are more like villages than Roman convents, every monk having his distinct dwelling-house, with as much land laid to it as a man is able to cultivate. When they come to die, they dispose of their goods as they please, only the land still remains to the monastery; this course falls in with that of the primitive monks, who lived in the deserts, wrought hard, and were under no vows. But the popish monks have their monasteries in populous cities, they are hurried into them, fettered by vows for their whole life, and become lazy to a proverb. The most famous of the Ethiopian monasteries is that of Alaleujah, where formerly there are said to have been 40,000 monks, the whole country round being given to them to cultivate. "I do not find, says Dr. Geddes^b, that any sort of learning did ever flourish among the Abyssinians; they have but few books, except the Bible, the canons of the first councils, and lives of their saints. They hold the scriptures to be the perfect rule of the Christian faith, inasmuch, as they deny it to be in the power of a general council to oblige people to believe any thing as an article of faith, without express warrant from the word of God. Their scripture canon consists of eighty-

^b Church-History of Ethiopia, pag 31.

eighty-five books, viz. of the Old Testament forty-six, and of the new thirty-nine.

Concerning our Saviour's incarnation, they are Eutychians, holding there is but one nature in Christ, that is the divine, by which they maintain the human is swallowed up. They were led into this heresy by Dioscorus the patriarch of Alexandria, who was condemned for it by the council of Chalcedon, whose authority they reject. They allow the bishop of Rome to be the first patriarch, but condemn his pretended supremacy over the whole church as Antichristian, and do detest popery to that degree, that of the two, they would rather turn Mahometans than Papists. The supreme authority over all persons and causes is in the emperor, whether in matters ecclesiastical or civil; they have but one bishop at a time, who is called Abuna, that is, *our Father*; he is always an Alexandrian monk; upon notice of a vacancy, he is consecrated and sent into Ethiopia by the Alexandrian patriarch, to whom this church has been always subject; he ordains only by imposition of hands, he has considerable lands and revenues. Their priests may marry after they are in orders, and as often as they are widowers. They have divers forms of baptism, they circumcise both males and females, and baptize all every year on the feast of Epiphany. They hold, that men derive their souls no less than their bodies from their parents; and that the children of Christian parents, especially of a Christian mother, are saved, though they die without baptism.

They celebrate the Eucharist but once a-day in a church, at which none must be present without communicating. The laity as well as the clergy receive

receive the cup; they do not elevate nor worship the consecrated elements, neither are they kept after the communion; they consecrate unleavened bread, which they break after consecration; they reckon the receiving of the sacrament breaks their fast, and therefore receive it not on a fasting-day till three o'clock in the afternoon. They do not believe transubstantiation, as appears by their liturgy, where the words of the institution are thus set down, "This bread is my body, this cup is my blood;" which propositions, by the Romanists themselves, cannot be understood otherwise than figuratively. Paul di Roo, secretary to the Dutch East India company, was in the year 1691, told by the Abyssinian ambassador at Batavia, "That transubstantiation, and adoration of the consecrated bread in the Eucharist, were what the Habassins abhorred. They communicate standing." They confess their sins only in general, saying, Habassea, I have sinned. They deny purgatory, and know nothing of confirmation, nor of extreme unction: they condemn graven images, and keep both Saturday and Sunday, and never fast on either of them, no not in Lent. Their divine offices are all in the vulgar tongue, and are performed with extraordinary devotion, but especially their litanies. Whenever they come into any place where there is a church, let their business be ever so urgent, they repair to it immediately, but never go into church with their shoes on, nor sit down in it, unless upon the ground; on all occasions expressing a deep sense of religion, chiefly when they visit the sick, which they are

forward

forward to do. They are charitable to the poor, and strangers, except those of the Romish church, whom they mortally hate, because of the cruel persecution raised by the Jesuits. The whole of their divine service consists in reading of the scriptures, some homilies of the fathers, and in administration of the sacraments, preaching being a rare exercise among them.

I come now to give a brief account of the methods the church of Rome hath used, to subject this church of Ethiopia to the Pope. In the year 1490, Caviltham a Portuguese first entered Abyssinia: in 1509, Helena, grandmother to David the Precious John, wrote a letter to Emmanuel the king of Portugal, and sent Matthew her ambassador to that court. David, emperor of Ethiopia, sent other letters to the same Emmanuel, and to Clement the third pope of Rome, by Francis Alvarez his envoy, a copy of which letters is in Dr. Geddes's book^d, with an account of the Habassian religion and rites, writ at Lisbon in the year 1534, by the hand of Zagazaba the Ethiopian ambassador. While these things were a doing, David King of Ethiopia was involved in a cruel war, brought upon him by his new correspondence with the Portuguese, who having enlarged their trade and conquests in the East Indies, made their name formidable over the eastern part of the world. The Habassin, as appears by his letters, did expect nothing less by his new allies, than the utter extirpation of his infidel neighbours, Heathens and Mahometans. But they all conspired to prevent this dangerous consequence, by

^d History of Ethiopia, p. 50—117.

by disabling the Habassin, before any Portuguese troops could come to his assistance. In prosecution of this design, Ahamed, nick-named Granhe, or Left-hand, a Mahometan prince, joined his forces with those of the King of Adel, fought and totally ruined the Habassin army; the king himself retired to the mountains, where he skulked about for two years, in which time Granhe made himself master of the best part of the empire, burning down the churches, or profaning them by turning them into mosques. David perceiving his empire in imminent danger, dispatched John Bermudes a Portuguese, who had been several years in Ethiopia, to Rome, for succours to prevent the ruin of a Christian kingdom; and to render him more acceptable, he obliged Mark the Abuna, to consecrate Bermudes, then a lay-man, bishop; yea, to declare him his successor in the see of Ethiopia. Bermudes arrived at Rome in the year 1538, where Pope Paul the Third allowed his orders to be valid, and confirmed his nomination to the patriarchate of Ethiopia; but left all the other expence of the succours to the king of Portugal, who gave only an order to the viceroy of the Indies, to send four or five hundred musqueteers, to succour the king of Ethiopia. Some years passed before even these came, and in the mean time David died, and left Claudius his successor, under whom the Ethiopian empire began a little to revive, though yet in great distress. A fleet of Portuguese, about this time, touched at Matzua, a port in Ethiopia, where the Habassin envoys waited on the admiral, and prevailed with him to spare them four hundred men, with a small train of artillery, to prevent the loss of their empire

empire. These auxiliaries, under the conduct of Don Stephen du Gama, son to the famous Vasco du Gama, are said to have performed wonders, if we credit the Portuguese historians. But at last Gama was routed, taken prisoner, and lost his head. After this the King of Ethiopia recovered strength, fights and routs his adversary Granhe, who was killed in battle. When he obtained the peaceable possession of his kingdom, he complimented the remaining Portuguese, for the kind assistance they had given him; but when they teased him to become Roman Catholic, he came to a rupture with them, and accused them of impertinence and insolence*.

In the year 1554, Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of the Jesuits, begged of the pope his orders to go to Ethiopia in person, to promote the submission of that church; this being declined, he, with indefatigable diligence, procured a splendid mission of friars of his order, to be sent thither, viz. John Nunnez Barreto, a Portuguese, to go as patriarch; Andrew Oviedo, a Spaniard, and Melchior Corneiro, a Portuguese, as coadjutors, with ten Jesuits their companions. The pope's bull for consecrating the patriarch, bears date at Rome, February 17th, 1554; but by reason of some accidents, these missionaries did not arrive in Ethiopia, before March 1557. They were admitted to an audience of the emperor Claudius, with abundance of ceremony; but he continued steadfast in the faith of the Habassin church, neither their conferences, letters, nor even their excommunication thundered out against him', could

* Geddes's Church Hist. y of Ethiopia, p. 145. Ibid. p. 197 —

could persuade him to submit to the pope; at last he was slain, fighting against the Mahometans, who had invaded his country in the year 1559. He was succeeded by his brother Adam, who declared himself an irreconcilable enemy to the church of Rome; the first act of his government, was to prohibit all Habassins whatsoever, under severe penalties, to go into the Latin church; ordering any woman that turned papist, to be whipped, and the men to undergo a severe punishment. He gave this reason for his rigid procedure, "That tolerating popery in Ethiopia, had cost his brother his life and empire, with a vast treasure of money and blood." In order therefore to extirpate it, he took all the lands his brother had given the Portuguese, and even their children from them, committing them to such as would educate them in the Alexandrian faith. He commanded Oviedo the coadjutor, to be thrown into prison, threatening to burn him and his Jesuits alive, if they did not give over corrupting his people with their false doctrines^a. No wonder, for he found them fomenting a rebellion in his country, in expectation of succours from Portugal. Adam was killed in battle, and succeeded by his son Malac-Saged, who hated the missionaries as much as his father. Oviedo, upon the news of Barreto's death at Goa, Dec. 1562, declared himself patriarch, but this did not mend the matter. The church of Rome finding this nominal patriarch could do them no service in Ethiopia, recalled him, and he died at Cremona, July 9th, 1567. Thus ended this mission, neither to the honour

^a Geddes's Church history of Ethiopia, pag. 202. ^b Ibidem, pag. 240.

honour of the Jesuits, nor to the advantage of Ethiopia.

For many years after this, the church of Rome seems to have taken no care to proselyte the Habassin church; but upon Philip of Spain's accession to the crown of Portugal, they resumed the thoughts of it: but several of their missionary friars died on the road. At length, Peter Pays, a cunning Spanish Jesuit, steals into Ethiopia, in the year 1603; the emperor Asnaf-Sagued, invited him to court, and shewed him great favourⁿ; he charmed the emperor, by causing two boys to repeat exactly the Roman catechism in the Habassin tongue before him: the father was allowed to preach and celebrate mass at court, with which the emperor declared himself delighted, and told father Peter in secret, that being now fully convinced, that the Pope was the head of the universal church, he was resolved to submit himself to him, and desire him to send a patriarch, and a competent number of friars into Ethiopia, to instruct his people in the true faith^l, and had ordered letters to the Pope, and the king of Portugal, concerning this affair. However, the emperor being afterward killed in battle, the message was not sent. Some conceive the Jesuit was privy to the conspiracy. After some controversy concerning the successor, Suseneus conquered his adversaries, and was advanced to the throne, taking the name of Seltam-Saged. The Jesuits congratulated him, and persuaded him of the truth of Christ's two natures, chiefly by a passage in his own Hamant-Aben, a book of the same nature with *Bibliotheca*

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Patrum,

ⁿ Geddes's church history of Ethiopia, pag. 240.^l Ibid. p. 250.

Patrum, where it was asserted, that doctrine was believed by all the ancient doctors of the church; and, that Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, was the first bishop that ever denied it. Raz Cella Christos, viceroy of Goam, the emperor's brother, a prince of great heat, was also convinced in the year 1612. Nothing would serve him, but he would publicly declare himself a Roman Catholic, reckoning the Alexandrians, who had so grossly imposed upon him in one particular, had misled him in every point, wherein they differed from the Roman church. Very kind letters were delivered to the emperor from the king of Spain, and from the Pope, congratulating his accession to the throne, and thanking him for his kindness to the friars, and exhorting him to continue devoted to the Catholic church: that from the Pope bears date at Rome, January 4th, 1611. The emperor returned letters, and sent ambassadors to these courts; but by a trick of those who adhered to the Alexandrian faith, the envoys were stripped of their equipage, and sent back the way they came^k. Popery now growing fashionable, every ambitious courtier began to caress the fathers, and to call their own clergy hypocrites and dunces.

But the country, which is seldom fond of court fashions, roared against the emperor and his brother, at a terrible rate, as bigotted Papists. The Habassin Abuna, or patriarch, not being able to hinder those methods the court was taking, left it in great wrath, and thundered out an excommunication against all, not excepting the emperor, who had or should submit themselves to the Pope.

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This provoked the emperor to emit a proclamation, making it death to deny there were two natures in Christ; an edict also desiring all his subjects to embrace the Roman faith; and another, ordering his subjects to work on Saturdays. I place these together, for brevity's sake. The emperor flighting all addressees against these measures, his people broke out into open rebellion. Tho' the rebels were defeated, and their old Abuna slain in battle, yet the Habassins continued very discontent, especially when they heard their emperor had abjured all the Alexandrian errors to father Peter, and made a confession of his whole life to him, who thereupon, gave him absolution, and reconciled him to the Pope¹. The poor father, overcome with joy at this conversion, outlived it but a few days. All this being notified at Rome, by letters from Ethiopia, the Pope, at the solicitation of the General of the Jesuits, ordered Manuel de Almeyda, as his nuncio, to go from the Indies to Ethiopia, to render thanks to the emperor for his zeal toward the Catholic religion, and to exhort him to persevere in so good a work. The nuncio, with some friars, did arrive in Ethiopia, in the year 1629, and were kindly received at court. In this situation of affairs, the courts of Rome and Madrid thought it high time to send a patriarch and coadjutors to Ethiopia. Accordingly Alфонsa Mendez was named patriarch, and James de Seeo, and John da Rooha, bishops of Nice and Hierapolis, his coadjutors. They having obtained their dispensations and bulls, were consecrated at Lisbon, and sent to Goa, from which place, by letters

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¹ Geddes's history of Ethiopia, pag. 319.

ters of the emperor of Ethiopia, and his brother, they were invited to court. To which they came (the Habassin court is a royal camp, with a great many tents) and were received with great solemnity by all the court converts. In a few days, the emperor, his brother, and others of the court, made a formal submission to the Pope, confirmed with an oath^m; and a revenue was settled on the patriarch, much greater than any of the former Abunas ever enjoyed.

The Jesuits now reckoned their work done, but the storm was only gathering against them. The body of the people in Ethiopia turned impatient of such changes, and murdered some missionaries, for saying Roman massⁿ, and rose in rebellion against the emperor. Tho' the rebels were defeated, and the emperor's own son-in-law killed at their head, this did not mend the matter. For the Papists raised a cruel persecution against the whole country, who still adhered to the Alexandrian faith; they caused a lady of quality to be hanged; others, who for conscience sake had forsaken all they had in the world, and hid themselves in caves and dens of the earth, were either ferreted out of their holes to be burnt, if they would not turn Roman Catholics, or smoked to death in them^o. These methods inflamed the people, they wanted only an opportunity to express their displeasure, which thus offered. The emperor's brother, Raz Cella Christos, the great patron of popery, being discovered to plot with the Jesuits, to bring in a Portuguese army into Ethiopia, in order to make himself emperor, this

^m Geddes's history of Ethiopia, pag. 342. ⁿ Ibidem, pag. 347. ^o Ibid. pag. 353.

set the prince, the heir-apparent of the crown, on his guard, and gave a blow to the designs of the popish party.

The rash zeal of the new patriarch also hastened their ruin; he commanded the corpse of an eminent monk, who had been general of the whole order of Tecla Haymont, to be taken out of the grave where he had been buried within the church, and to be thrown into the open fields, because he declared at his death, that he died in the Alexandrian, not in the Roman faith. The peasants of Lasta having defeated some of the emperor's troops, he hearkened to the advice of his subjects so far, as to incline to give a toleration to those of the Alexandrian faith; which the patriarch opposed with all his might, so as no indemnity was then granted. The peasants then in great numbers rose in open rebellion, and the emperor marched his whole force against them, defeated them, and killed eight thousand on the spot. Next morning, when he viewed the field of battle, his grandees addressed him with tears in their eyes, saying, "Sir, how many dead bodies lie here? These are not the bodies of Mahometans or Heathens, but of Christians; your Highness's natural born subjects, our blood and kindred. Tho' you conquer, you thrust a sword into your own bowels. How many thousands have been massacred? How many thousands must be, before Popery can be established in Ethiopia? For God's sake let your people alone with the religion of their forefathers, which you must either do, or ruin the empire with your own hands." This so moved

moved the emperor, as he soon emitted the following proclamation^a: "Hear, Hear, we formerly gave you the Roman faith, believing it to be true, but innumerable multitudes of my people, having been slain on that account, under Julius, Gergis, Cerca, Christos, &c. as now also among the peasants; we do therefore restore the religion of your forefathers to you, so that your priests are to take possession of your churches again, and officiate therein as formerly." This proclamation was received with inexpressible joy; every body declared themselves of the Alexandrian faith, even the new converts to popery, threw their beads and relics into the bonfires.

The emperor died the latter end of that year, and his son Facilidas, or Basilides, was proclaimed his successor; he sent for the patriarch, and all the popish fathers, and banished them all to Fremona, and thence to the Indies. While they staid in Ethiopia, they endured a thousand hardships, narrated by Dr. Geddes. In the year 1634, they were transported to Dio in the East Indies^b. Four of the fathers, who were found afterward lurking in the country, were hanged^c. The college at Rome, for propagating the faith, did not think fit to send any more Jesuits from Portugal into Ethiopia, but named six French Capuchins to go thither: two of them were murdered by the Cafres; two passed into Egypt, and having got into the kingdom of Tigre, by the way of Matzua, in the habit of merchants, as soon as they were discovered to be popish priests, they were put to death; the emperor having by a law requir-

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^a Geddes's history, pag. 394. ^b Ibid. pag. 433. ^c Ibidem, pag. 445.

ed any who discovered popish missionaries, immediately to kill them, without troubling the court any more with them. Two Italian Capuchins, with one French man, remaining alive of the former mission, came to Suaquhem in the year 1646, and wrote to the emperor of Ethiopia, to permit them to come and preach in his dominions, they being of the same faith with himself; he returned them no answer, only wrote to the Bashaw of Suaquhem, "to ease him of these, and of all the friars that should come into his port at any time, for he could not have one day's quiet from them in his kingdom;" complaining, "that though he had rooted out all the Portuguese, a new set of people were come to disturb him, upon new pretences." The Bashaw, glad of an occasion to gratify the Habassin emperor, caused the three friars to be put to death, and sent him their heads; and the emperor, as a present, returned him three bags of gold dust, promising him as many bags of such dust, as he should at any time send him heads of Roman friars.

After this, Basilides, having, by a total extirpation of popery out of his empire, quieted the minds of his subjects, set about recovering the provinces his infidel neighbours had, during the Habassin broils about religion, tore from his predecessors, and was so prosperous in his wars, as to regain most of them. If Morad the Ethiopian ambassador did not stretch his narrative, Basilides extended his empire northward to the confines of Nubia, and southward to Hadea; the people of which kingdom were converted by him to the Christian Faith. He reigned 32 years, and was succeeded by his son Adlaf-Saged, in the year

1665;

1665, who was succeeded by his son Jaso Accan-Saged, in the year 1681. He that desires to know more of Ethiopia, may read Ludolphus and Dr. Geddes's histories of that country.

The travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, by father Balthasar Telles, has the substance of this whole affair; though they may differ in some circumstances, yet, in my opinion, they confirm the account we have given already from Dr. Geddes: these travels are translated into English, and printed in 1710. There is an edition of the Jesuits Letters, at Paris, in ten volumes; the fourth of these wholly concerns Ethiopia. Father Brevedent, and Monf. Ponret, a physician, designed to go into that country, but the former died on the way; the physician only accomplished his voyage to the court of the king of Ethiopia, and returned; his travels were from the year 1698, to 1700: there is nothing in them that contradicts the narrative I have given from Dr. Geddes, nor any appearance of that church ever submitting to the see of Rome; he gives this evidence of the great numbers of the Ethiopian Clergy, "That at one ordination, the patriarch ordained ten thousand priests, and six thousand deacons.

To this day the Habassins continue in the same irreconcilable hatred to the church of Rome; for the public letters from Madrid, of June 30th, 1720, say, "We have received an account, that Father Laberat Vaiz, a German, Michael Pio de Cervo, and Samuel de Biuno, natives of the Milaneze, monks of the order of St. Francis, who, after having escaped many perils, were arrived in Ethiopia,

Ethiopia, with a design to convert to the Roman catholic faith, the natives of that country, were arrived at Gondar, and carried before the king, the metropolitan, and the chief men, both of the clergy and state, by whom they were sentenced to die, unless they would abjure the faith of the council of Chalcedon; which, with the utmost constancy, they refused to do, whereupon they were given up to the fury of the people, who stoned them to death; the metropolitan having threatened to excommunicate every one who should cast less than seven stones at them.

We have been perhaps long enough on the church of Ethiopia, let us now take a view of the state of Paganism in Africa.

Though Ethiopia the higher be Christian, as is related, yet a great part of Africa is under black, heathenish darkness. The large country of Guinea, lying within the torrid zone, is inhabited by Negroes; their religion, if it may be so called, is Paganism. They greet the new-moon with horrible roarings, and strange gestures of adoration; they offer their sacrifices in the woods, before great hollow-trees, wherein their idols are placed; yet this they do rather out of custom than zeal, using neither form nor method in their devotion: every one making a god after their own fancy^u. They believe, when people die, they go into another world, and will have occasion for many of the same things they use here, and therefore put part of their household stuff into the grave with the dead corpse; and if they lose any thing, they imagine their friend in the other world had

^u English Acquisitions on the Coast of Guinea, pag. 17. and following —

need of it, and have taken it away. They have no letters nor books, yet keep Tuesday for a sabbath, forbearing then their fishing and husbandry, and in the midst of the market-place they place a table on four pillars, about three yards high, whose flat cover is made of straw and reeds woven together, upon which they place many straw rings, called Fetissoes, or Gods, and within them set wheat, water and oil for their god, who they imagine devours it. Their priest they call Fetisfero, who every festival day places a seat on that table, and preaches to the people; but what his doctrine is, the Europeans cannot understand. After this, the women offer him their infants, whom he sprinkles with water, wherein a living snake swims; with the same he sprinkles the table, then uttering certain words very loud, and stroaking the children with some kind of colours, as if giving them his blessing, he himself drinks of the water, the people clapping their hands and crying, *You, You*, and so he dismisseth the assembly. Many of the Negroes wear such straw rings next their bodies, to preserve them from the mischief which their angry gods might inflict upon them, in honour of whom they daub themselves with a kind of chalky earth, which is their morning prayer. At their eating, the first bit, and the first draught is consecrated to their Fetisso. When the king sacrifices to his Fetisso, he commands his priest or Fetisfero to enquire of a tree, to which he ascribes divinity, what he will demand: the priest daubs a branch of the tree with ashes and water, and pretends the daemon answers the king's questions. The nobility likewise adore certain trees, esteeming them oracles, and report, the de-
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vil appears to them sometimes as a black dog, at other times answers them without any visible apparition. Some worship a bird, called Pittoie, spotted as it were with stars, resembling the voice of a bull; to hear this bird low in their journey is reckoned a good omen, and therefore they set a vessel of water and wheat in the place where they hear it. Yea, they canonize certain fishes, as the Tunny. The very mountains are not without honour; if they did not pacify their anger by presents of meat and drink, they believe they would bend their sullen brows, and overwhelm the earth. When it thunders, rains hard, or the wind blows strong, there is not one of them to be seen in the streets, all hide themselves in their houses, and cry, "The gods of the whites are angry." The devil is so dreadful to them, they tremble at naming him, and say, "He beats them, and makes them do evil things." They make great lamentations, with odd ceremonies, upon the death of their friends. If the king dies, greater solemnity is used; his nobles thinking so great a person ought to have attendants, one offers him a servant, another his wife, a third his son or daughter, even many of both sexes to wait upon him, who are all suddenly slain, and their bloody carcases buried with him*; yea, the king's wives, who loved him best, refuse not this last service, but are willing to die, that they may again live with him. The heads of the slain are set upon poles round the sepulchre, meat, drink, cloaths, and arms are buried with them. The negroes have as many wives as they can maintain, but the first has the pre-

* English acquisitions in Guinea, pag. 23.

pre-eminence, her husband can never take another but by her permission¹; but because multitudes of wives and children are counted the greatest honour and riches in that country, they often persuade their husbands to take more, and glory therein.

Near Cape Miserado, the people believe the god whom they call Kanno, will punish all their misdeeds, and reward the well-doers; and therefore, when oppressed, call for his aid to do them justice². They imagine their friends, after their death, become spirits, whom they call Jannanen, and know all transactions here below, and therefore they entertain familiar colloquies with them, acquainting them with all their adversities. When they go to hunt in the woods, elephants, buffaloes, or upon any other dangerous enterprize, they go first and offer to the spirit of their deceased parents a cow, wine, or rice, which they leave on the grave. The king calls upon the souls of his father and mother, almost in every matter of difficulty.

The great country of Nigritia, or the land of the Blacks, lies from the 11th to the 23d degree north latitude, and in breadth from the 6th to the 50th degree of longitude; its inhabitants are generally Pagan idolaters, some Mahometans are among them: those who inhabit the deserts, have little either of religion or laws; in some few places there are old Christians, though much corrupted.

In the Lower Ethiopia, which from south to north extends 54 leagues, and from east to west 120³; their religion consists of foolish, heathenish superstition, they invoke domestic and field daemons,

¹ English acquisitions in Guiana, pag. 64. ² Ibidem, pag. 29. ³ The-saurus Geographicus, pag. 461.

mons, and have little or no knowledge of God; the same may be said of the people of Calingo and Goy.

In Anfico and Jagos, the sun is their god, whom they represent under the figure of a man, and the moon of a woman; they adore also a number of false deities, whom they consult in all their undertakings. Some authors say*, "That the people called Jagos, have public shambles, where they buy man's flesh for food, that the father eats the son's, and the son the father's flesh, without horror! their bellies are the living graves where they bury the dead. They wander like Arabians from place to place, armed with an ax, a bow and arrows, living only by theft and slaughter; they are spread almost through all Africa, but the most part of them make incursions into the kingdom of Anfico."

I shall discourse more fully of the kingdoms of Congo and Angola in the following chapter; and therefore shall only here remark, that the inhabitants of these places, before the Portuguese entered their country, were idolaters, every one worshipped what he pleased for his god, so as some adore serpents, vipers, dragons, tygers, herbs and trees; they fall down flat on their faces before their idols. The Portuguese promoted Christianity there, according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, but the inhabitants were never good Christians, rather real hypocrites.

Caffreria, or the coast of Castares, reaches from the kingdom of Mataman, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and then ascends northward as far as the coasts

* Great Historical Dictionary on the word Jagos.

coasts of Zanguebar, encompassing the empires of Monemugi and Monomotapa, except on the north side of them; the inhabitants are called Hot-tentots, they live in great ignorance, but begin to get a little more understanding by their commerce with the Europeans; there are some remainders of natural light among them; their love to each other, their fidelity and contempt of riches, may make Christians ashamed^b. They are seldom guilty of any extravagance or theft, unless they be drunk with eating the root Daba, or are in extreme poverty. As for their religion, they acknowledge a supreme Being, which governs the winds, rain, seasons, heat, and cold; but do not think themselves obliged to worship him. Some of them give a kind of worship to the moon. Some part of the eastern-coast, toward Sofola, are Mahometans, and some few of them profess Christianity, by the influence of the Dutch and Portuguese who resort among them.

Mr. Burton gives us an odd account of the people of the bay of Soldania, near the Cape of Good Hope, which is a part of the country of the Caffares or Cafres. He says^c, nor do other authors contradict his report, "That they expose their old people when they grow decrepid and troublesome, to be devoured by wild beasts, of which there are many in that country; that their speech seems rather an inarticulate noise, like the gabbling of turkies, than a language. Their habits are sheep skins undressed, thonged together, which cover their bodies to the middle, with a little flap of the same tied before them, being naked downwards; when

^a Thesaurus Geographicus, pag pag 465. ^c English acquisitions, pag. 139, &c

when 'tis cold, they put the wool, and when hot, the fleshy part of these skins next their body. Their ornaments or jewels, are bullocks or sheep guts full of excrements about their necks; when they are hungry, they sit down upon some hillock, first shaking some of that filthy pudding out of the guts about their neck, then bowing down their mouths to their hands, almost as low as their knees; like hungry dogs, they gnaw and eat the raw guts.—The women are habited and dieted in the same manner; both sexes make coverings for their heads of cows dung, mingled with stinking grease, they besmear their faces with it, which makes their company insufferable; and yet any of these people, weary of the best entertainment England could afford, would long to return to wallow in their own puddle. They sell to English, Dutch, and to ships of other nations, bullocks and cows for pieces of brass and tobacco, of which we have frequent accounts in Mr. Harris's complete collection of Voyages and Travels.

The kingdom of Monomotapa is bounded on the west, south and east with the coast of Caffre-rie, on the north with the mountains of the Moon, and in the north-east with Sofola and Monemugi; its extent from south to north is about 300 leagues, and from west to east about 240. The emperor is an absolute prince, his subjects pay him great reverence. As to religion, they are most of them Heathen idolaters, they call the supreme God Mazin Ottuno, and believe him the creator of the world; they make a feast on the first day they see the new moon, and upon the emperor's nativity;

tivity; they honour a virgin they call Paris^d, and have convents of women. The Portuguese alledge, they have converted a number of these people, that above 300 of them were baptized in the year 1560, by Gonfálvez Sylveira, a Jesuit; but the inconstant emperor being persuaded by the Turks, that Sylveira was a magician^e, he caused him to be beheaded; but repenting soon of this fact, he censured the Turks with the same punishment for their calumnies.

The empire of Monemugi is on the south of Abyssinia, and on the north of Monomotapa; it contains part of the mountains of the Moon; the inhabitants are of great stature, they clothe themselves with silk and cotton, which they buy of foreign merchants; the majority of them are Heathen idolaters.

In the coasts of Zanguebar, the inhabitants are Heathens or Mahometans, following the doctrine of Zayd, the nephew of Haly. Some Christians have settled themselves in the forts built near the sea by the Portuguese. The coasts of Ajan and Abex are Mahometans.

As to the islands of Africa, Zocotara lies near the straits of Babelmandel, at the entry to the Red Sea; the natives were for most part idolaters, worshipping the moon, which they believed to be queen of all things^f, but now their religion is Mahometan, and they suffer no other^g; they are under a king, who is tributary to the Cherif of Mecca.

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^d Thesaurus Geographicus, p. 476.

^e Great Hist. Dictionary on the word Monomotapa.

^f Thesaurus Geographicus, p. 470.

^g Geogra-

phical Dictionary, edition 1694, on Zocotara.

The isle of Madagascar is one of the biggest in the world; the French call it Dauphine, the Portuguese St. Lawrence, because discovered by them on a day dedicated to that saint. It is situated between Zanguebar and Cafrerie; it extends from 11 degrees 50 minutes, to 23 degrees 30 minutes south latitude, and is from south-west to north-east 300 leagues, but not above 50 leagues in breadth. The natives are Heathens, they believe in one God the creator of heaven and earth, who rewards the good, and punishes the bad; they own there are good and evil Angels; and are mightily afraid of the devil, pouring out the first of their meat and drink on the ground as a sacrifice to appease him; their priests are usually magicians, who teach them spells and charms to prevent mischief from the devil¹. They live in hoards like the Tartars, under one chief, whom they call Tschich, which authority is oftentimes usurped by him who is most powerful. The provinces are governed by petty princes or grandees, and the people are divided into several ranks. Their language and writings resembles the Arabic; their paper is yellow and very smooth, made of the inner rind of a tree; their ink is a sort of gum, and their pens made of cane. Francis Gauche of Rouen, who staid in that island several years, says², "He could not discover any religion these people had, there being no temple among them, and he never saw them pray, or call on any god, or worship any statue; yet when he asked them, they said, they knew there was a devil, by them called

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Tayrraddey,

¹ Geographical Dictionary, Edition 1694, on Madagascar. ² Voyage to Madagascar, by Francis Gauche, p. 54. in a collection of voyages in 4to. printed 1711.

Tayrraddey, who causes diseases and barrenness, and a God that killed them; so that the latter was more to be feared than the former. That all men went indifferently to heaven after death. He apprehends Mahometanism is creeping in among them, and discourses at large of their rites, divorces, burials, and sacrifices.

As to the other isles of Africa, as the isles of Cape Verd, the Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, and the Madeiras, these are all inhabited by Roman Catholics; and 'tis not my province now to discourse of their rites. The most remarkable African island in the Mediterranean sea is Malta, the habitation of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, all Papists; and therefore I pass them, and go to the other side of the world.

Before I enter upon the state of Paganism in America, there are some things concerning this hemisphere of the terraqueous globe, which deserve our enquiry and observation.

This new world then was first discovered to us in Europe, in the year of our Lord 1492, by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, and in 1497 by Americus Vesputius, a Florentine. The story of these great navigators is so well known, that I need not insist upon it.

The question, how this vast country came to be first inhabited, is of greater moment. Those who desire to see large treatises upon this subject, may consult the authors named at the foot of the page*. It is enough to our purpose to take notice, that in this vast tract of land, when discovered by Europeans,

* Joannis de Laet Antuerplani Notas ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum. Hornius de Origine Gentium Americanarum. Acosta's history of the Indies, book 1.

peans, there was a multitude of inhabitants, whose ancestors came thither by sea, or by land, of design or by chance: it is not needful peremptorily to determine from what part of the world they came; there are many mysteries, both in the works of nature and providence, that we cannot distinctly unfold. 'Tis sufficient for us to assert, that it is probable they might come thither either from China, Japan, or some part of Tartary.

It is certain, that the Chinese had the knowledge of the arts of navigation, of printing, and of guns; though we will not affirm soon after the Babylonish confusion of languages, yet long before us in Europe. 'Tis no way then incredible, that such a numerous knowing people should send out colonies, who might gradually replenish another part of the world. Mr. Harris, in his introduction to his *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*, or a complete Collection of Travels, has a learned dissertation concerning the peopling of America¹, where he seems to make it pretty probable, that the more polite people of America in Mexico and Peru, came from China and Japan in ships. Thus he observes^m; "That the city of Zintzonta in Mexico is a Chinese word; that at the time of the Spanish conquest, the Yncas of Peru did not boast of an original above 400 years; before this, they say, they were barbarous, lived wild in the woods, eat men's flesh, &c. 'till one Manco came to them from their father the sun, and taught them a better and a more civilized way of life. Now, 'tis probable, he came from China,

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¹ Harris's Introduction, in folio, from p. 8—18. ^m Ibid. p. 17.

because the architecture of the Yncas in Peru, and all their mighty buildings and towers are after the Chinese manner, and their cities are vastly great like those in China. The account of the Mexicans reaches not above 300 years backwards. Now, since we learn from P. Venetus, and with a little variation of time from the annals of Gonfalo Mendoza, that about the year of Christ 1268, the Chinese being driven out of their country by the invasion of the Tartars, fled into certain remote islands and there remained; 'tis very likely they went then into America."

As to Tartary, the most industrious navigators have never as yet been able to sail from the north round the eastern parts of that country. If any corner of Tartary be joined to some part of America, or very near, it is not yet discovered. If it be not joined, certainly some of the eastern coasts of Tartary are very near America; people then might transport themselves, and also some part of their cattle, from the one into the other, which, by a great fruitfulness in these early ages, might overspread and replenish that whole hemisphere of the world. Tho' the history of this event be not on record, yet this is a probable account, which is all we design. Dr. Heylin further observes, that the idolatry of the people of America, and the particular forms thereof, their incivility, and barbarous qualities, tell us, that they are more like the Tartars than any other people". Those of Quivira, which of all the provinces in America is the nearest to Tartary, are said to follow, in their whole course of life, the seasons and best pasturing of their cattle, just like the Scythian Nomades, or Tartarian

Tartarian hoards; which is one argument of their original descent.

Some authors contend, that America was not altogether unknown to the ancients; that the Phenicians or Carthaginians had some knowledge of it; but the small skill they had in navigation, made them entertain no commerce therewith. Some conceive, that Seneca the tragedian speaks of it in his *Medea*^o, and Plato in his *Timæus*, when he brings in the Egyptian priests, telling Solon, that there was heretofore beyond Hercules's Pillars, an island called Atlantis, larger than all Asia and Africa, which was overflowed by a terrible earthquake. But these authorities do not convince me that the ancients had any knowledge of America, otherwise they had spoken of it in plainer terms. Neither Greeks nor Romans, nor we in Europe seem to have had any knowledge of it, before the discovery made thereof by the navigators, in the end of the fifteenth century.

The learned Witfius has two discourses^p on this subject, if the gospel was preached by the apostles, or by their immediate successors, to America? In the first of these, he uses all the arguments can be advanced for the affirmative; in the second, he answers these, and demonstrates, that none of the apostles, or their immediate successors, set their foot in America. In my humble opinion, there

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^o Senecæ *Medæ*, Lin: 375, & seq —
Venient annis secula feris,
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet & ingens pateat Tellus,
Tiphysque novos detegat Orbes,
Nec sit Terris ultima Thule —

^p Hermanni Witfii *Exercitationum Academicarum duodecas*, Ultraj: Cl
1694. a pag. 1. a pag. 119.

is no evidence that the gospel was ever preached in America, before the colonies from Europe went thither in the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth century, and more especially by some colonies from England long after that time.

Since it has pleased a sovereign and just God, that these vast countries have remained for so many ages under heathenish darkness, 'tis my present business to set in a plain light their sad condition, that Christians may be excited to labour more diligently for their conversion. When the Spaniards first discovered this new world, the natives were all Heathens, yet meek, peaceable, and capable of instruction. But the cruelty of the Spaniards, related by Bartholomew de la Casas, bishop of Chiapa, which we shall touch in the last chapter of this history, gave them such bad impressions of Christianity, as did very much hinder their conversion.

A short account of the heathenish superstitions of the natives in America, may suffice at present, being sensible this essay has swelled under my hand, far beyond my first design. To begin with the North; Canada, called also New France, where the famous Mississippi colony is situate, extends from south to north about four hundred and forty leagues, from the 30th degree to the 54th of north latitude, and from the east to the west it runs six hundred and eighty leagues. The natives, who have any kind of religion, believe the immortality of the soul, and that there is a place of pleasure in the other world, where the dead live with their friends; they are very revengeful, and exercise extraordinary cruelty upon their enemies; they are also treacherous, so as there is no trusting

trusting their promises, most of them living without law or religion. They have many magicians and witches, whom they call Pillotoas^a, who they pretend speak familiarly with the devil, and receive from him knowledge of things to come. They use to sing the devil's praises, dance about fires, and leap over them to his honour. They bemoan the dead a great while, and bring presents to their graves.

Father Lewis Hennepin, a Franciscan from France, with Monsieur de Laval, afterward bishop of Quebec, the capital city of Canada, did go to the French plantations in America, in the year 1673; Monsieur Hennepin has wrote an account of things remarkable in their travels, which I have seen printed in a book by itself, under this title, "A new Discovery of a large country in Northern America, extending above four thousand miles," &c. It is also printed in Mr. Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, now before me: he describes the Iroquoise as a very wicked and cruel people, who torment and murder the prisoners they take, yea, feast upon their bodies; but if they smoke with you in the Calumet of peace, then you are in no danger. This Calumet is a large tobacco-pipe of a red, black, or white marble, the head finely polished, the quill commonly two foot and a half long, made of a strong reed or cane, adorned with feathers of all colours, interlaced with locks of women's hair. I shall afterward observe what this author advances concerning the propagation of Christianity in Canada. Mean time I leave that country, and go to

^a Great Historical Dictionary on the word Canada. complete Collection of Travels, vol. II. p. 906, &c.

^b Harris's complete

New England, which is adjacent to Canada, and is situate betwixt the 41st and 44th degree of North Latitude, in the Temperate Zone. I shall have occasion, in the following chapter, to give account of the idolatrous customs and rites of the Indians, when I explain the successful endeavours of the English colony in that country, for the conversion of these natives, and therefore shall now leave them, and pass to

Virginia, which is so called, in honour of queen Elizabeth; it was first discovered by John Verudzan, and afterward more fully by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year 1584, by whose direction the queen sent a colony thither. In Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Travels, we have several particular narratives of the first English planters in Virginia¹, with the several difficulties they had to debate with; but my subject restrains me to the state of the Heathens in these places. The native Indians in Virginia then, are idolaters, believing there are several gods of different orders, subject to one eternal Being; they hold the sun, moon, and stars are demi-gods, calling their temples Machicomuck, their priests Viroances, the chief of their gods Keuras, and the inferior Keurasayoch: But they have a particular veneration for a certain god, called Okee, who, as they say, often appears to them, and discovers his will, answering questions put to him, about hunting, journeying, and the like. They offer to him the first-fruits of all things every year, maintaining they cannot expect good luck, but by so doing. They account the God of the English better than theirs, because he often
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¹ Harris's Collection, vol. i p. 815. to 848.

beats them; their priests are generally thought conjurors, for in a time of drought, they pretend, by their Powawing, to bring abundance of rain^t. Some authors tell us, that much of their devotion consists in howling and dancing about fires, with rattles, or gourd, or pompion rinds in their hands, beating the ground with stones, and offering tobacco, deers grease, and blood on their stone altars. They undertake no matter of consequence, without advice of their priests, the chief whereof is adorned with feathers and weasel tails, and his face painted ugly as devils. Instead of saying grace at meat, they fling the first bit into the fire; when they would appease a storm, they cast tobacco into the water; sometimes they sacrifice children to the devil.

Florida is adjacent to Virginia and Carolina; Sebastian Cabot discovered it in the year 1496, upon the account of Henry VII. king of England, but he only took a slight view of the country. Francis Ribault, in the name of Charles IX. king of France, made a league with the inhabitants in the year 1562, and built Charles Fort. But the Spaniards, in the night-time, surprized the French, and murdered most of their soldiers. The natives are Heathens; they have a great veneration for the sun and moon, and pay great respect to their priests, who are also their physicians^u; but instead of letting blood, as we do, suck the blood out of their patients. They are magicians and enchant the people by their witchcraft. Charles V. sent several monks and friars to try whether they could tame those savages, but the infidels cut their throats.

^t Hackluit, Purchas, Ross's Panthebeia, p. 104. ^u Thes. Geog. p. 492.

throats *. The natives have a kind of friendship for the English, and are ready upon all occasions to serve them; they worship one God as creator of all things, whom they call Okee; their high priests offer sacrifice to him, but they believe he minds not human affairs himself, but commits the government of them to lesser deities; they believe the transmigration of souls and happiness after death. The English among them enjoy a liberty of conscience, by the constitution of their government.

New Mexico is a large country, lying to the west of Florida; it is not yet fully discovered, though some parts thereof have been possessed by the Spaniards, since the year 1583[†]. There are some of the natives, who worship the sun and moon, and carry meat to their idols to eat, which they have set in little chapels; others of them have scarce any religion[‡].

California lies to the West of New Mexico, it extends near 700 leagues from north to south, it was commonly believed to be an island, but near the end of the fifth volume of the Jesuits Letters, printed at Paris, I find a memorial[§] presented to the council of Guadalaxara in Mexico, on the tenth of February 1702, translated from the Spanish; and the Jesuit Gobien, in his preface to that volume, tells us, "that the missionaries found that great country of California, to be separate only from New Mexico, by the waters of a river." The inhabitants are Heathen idolaters.

Mexico,

* Historical Dictionary on the word Florida. † Ibid on New Mexico. ‡ Thes. Geog p 483. § Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, &c. Recueil 5 p 248

Mexico, or New Spain, is a rich country, which was anciently governed by elective kings of their own, of whom there is some history on record, for four or five hundred years. They were so powerful, as to be able to send three or four hundred thousand fighting men into the field. The last of these kings was Montezuma the Second. Ferdinand Cortez, with a small army of Spaniards, having got the assistance of a body of the natives, conquered this kingdom, in the name of the king of Spain, in less than four years, viz. from 1518, to 1521. The noise of his artillery made them believe him to be a god, but the cruelty of the Spaniards shewed they were worse than men^b: They took, burned, and sacked the rich city of Mexico.

The natives were all idolaters, they worshipped many idols, but three principally; the first of these was called Vitziliputzli, placed in an azure-coloured chair, with snakes heads at each corner; on his head were rich plumes of feathers with gold; in his left hand a white target, in his right a staff, at his side four darts. Near to this idol, stood a pillar of less work and beauty, on which was another idol called Toloc; perhaps by this they meant the moon, and by the former the sun. They had a third idol of black stone, with four darts in his right hand, looking angry like; this, as the rest, was adorned with gold and jewels. In Cholula they worshipped a god of wealth or merchandizing. They had also an idol of paste, or dough, consecrated, or made every year, to which rich presents were brought, and stuck in the paste; sometimes they adored captives, and afterwards

^b Hist. Dist. on Mexico, or New Spain.

afterwards sacrificed them^c. They had a chief priest, whose habit was a crown of rich feathers, on his head pendants of gold, with green stones at his ears, and under his lips an azure stone; his office was to receive the body of the dead king at the temple door, with a mournful song, to open the breast of the sacrificed man, to pull out his heart, to offer it to the sun, and then cast it to the idol, to which the man was sacrificed, the inferior priests holding the legs, arms, and head of the sacrificed wretch, while the heart was taking out; the priest's office was also to burn incense before their idols. The revenues of the priests were great, and their temples, in state, wealth and magnificence, did even exceed the popish churches in Europe.

Cholula, before the arrival of the Spaniards, had twenty thousand inhabitants, and three hundred and sixty-five temples, in which they sacrificed every year five or six thousand children to their idols^d. How dreadful is that inhumanity and barbarity that the enemy of mankind did drive the blinded Heathens to! In Mexico were above two thousand false deities or idols, every one of them having a particular way of adoration, and a distinct order of priests^e. Each twentieth day, being the last of their month, was holy, and then men were sacrificed. At the first appearance of green corn, children were offered up, when the corn was a foot above the ground, and again when it was two foot high, holy days were kept, and more children butchered. In a festival which the Mexicans observed in their canoes upon the

^c Acosta's history of the Indies, lib. 5 chap 9. ^d Ibid lib. 5 c 20,

^e History of America, printed at London 1705 p. 533.

the lake, a boy and a girl were drowned, to keep company with the gods of the lake. But I am weary of rehearsing these heathenish abominations; what an invaluable mercy is it, that we, by divine revelation, are delivered from them, and directed to serve the Lord our God, who is of infinite mercy, goodness and compassion to his people, who doth not require the fruit of our body for the sin of our soul; but that we should do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God, who is reconciled to us, through his own Son, our blessed Redeemer.

Having taken a view of the idolatrous rites of the natives, in most parts of the continent of North America, I might also enquire into the superstition of the islands, as Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Bermudas, Cuba, Tabago, Hispaniola, Newfoundland, St. Vincent's, &c. To insist on the civil or natural history and rarities of these places, is not my business; this is done by many writers of geography and travels. In many of these isles, the natives are either destroyed or fled, and the inhabitants now, are for the most part Christians, of several denominations, from Europe, and negroes bought with money from Africa. As to the remaining natives, most of their superstitious rites agree with those we have already discoursed of in Virginia, Florida, Canada, &c.

Monf. l' Abbe Bellegarde says^f, "That in Hispaniola, the Indians adore the sun and moon, and mingle a great many heathenish ceremonies with their worship; they hold a first, eternal and omnipotent

^f Complete Collection of Voyages to America, page m. 270, 274 —

nipotent principle, to whom they give two names, Mamona and Guamono-coa; they say their god has a mother, who has five names, viz. Attabeira, Mamona, Guacavirita, Siella and Guinazona. This god, they also hold, has many messengers, called Cemís, and every Cacique has one of these assigned him by a special privilege. They believe he appears only in the night, and reveals to the Cacique a thousand secrets; that he is of the colour of cotton dyed black, and throws out fire at his mouth, and his feet, say they, are like those of black serpents. When the Indians go abroad to fight their enemies, they always have one of these little figures fastened to their foreheads, believing, that, by their assistance, they shall surely gain the victory. They demand rain of them, and fair weather, as occasions require. When the Cemís appears by chance in the woods, or elsewhere, the Indians have always a particular veneration for the places where they saw them. When they have a mind to be informed of the success of any particular and important affair, the chief of their caciques enters a sort of temple dedicated to these Cemís, where a certain drink is presented to him, made of an herb which the Indians call Chohobba; this drink he snuffs up at his nose, which he has no sooner done, than he becomes mad for a time, the house seems to turn round with him, and the people to walk on their heads; in a word, he knows not what he does or says. As soon as these fumes begin a little to abate, he sets himself down on the ground, with his hands and head upon his knees, and after continuing a while thus, as if awakened from his sleep, lifts up his eyes to heaven, muttering some words, which no body understands.

understands. The principal people of the country standing round the Cacique, while this ceremony is performed, give thanks to the Cemis, for restoring him to his senses. When they begin to enquire what he has seen, he answers gravely, the Cemi has spoke and promised him victory, if the question be about fighting; or has promised him success and direction, according to the matter proposed. The Indians believe these Cemis have converse with their wives. Since the Christians have been in possession of Hispaniola, these Cemis have disappeared, and their delusion ceased. The Indians conclude thence, that their country shall devolve to another dominion, and their Caciques be subject to a more powerful lord."

The same author relates many odd opinions of these Pagan Indians, how the earth came to be peopled, of the origin of the sea, of the dead, and others of that kind, which I pass. In the same book he says, there are to this day in the Indies, men-eaters, who feed upon human flesh; who sacrifice men, as formerly the people of Thrace offered their strangers to their false deities. The savages inhabiting the continent of the Indies, called Chorotegas, or Caribes, wage war with their neighbours, chiefly for the benefit of taking prisoners, whom they devour. They are a generation without the least sense of humanity, much less of pity, who differ from wild beasts only in outward shape. They shew not the least symptoms of any good inclinations, even such of them as have been taken in their infancy, and educated among the Christians, return in time to their vicious disposition. They are so much addicted to cruelty and venery, that 'tis next to impossible to
make

them desist or leave it off. I know Dampier and some other travellers say, they never met with Anthropophagi, cannibals, or man-eaters, so far as they went; but this does not make the relations of others altogether false.

I now proceed to South America, where in the first place we meet with Peru, a vast continent, running along the Pacific sea, and giving the name of Peruvian to the whole of South America. It lies almost all between the equator and tropic of Capricorn. Francis Pizzaro, a Spaniard, made a discovery thereof in the year 1525, and subdued it. Gemelli Careri, a late ingenious traveller, who viewed many parts of the world^f, says^h, Pizzaro did not find so great difficulty in Peru, as Cortez did in Mexico. Having mentioned the name of this traveller, I shall notice, that in his sixth tome, he has several things that are curious, concerning Mexico, which lie not in my road, only he insists long upon their horrible human sacrifices, and saysⁱ, "That their king, Ahuitzol, when he consecrated the temple of Huitzilopochtli, in the year 1486, during the space of four days, caused to be sacrificed 64080 men." And though, since the conquest of the Spaniards, this abominable cruelty be banished out of their cities, "Yet^k to this day, 'tis practised by some of the Indians in the mountains."

To return to Pizzaro, he caused the king Atabalipa to be strangled, contrary to the promise had been given him. The unsatiable desire of gold, moved the Spaniards to murder the Indians in a most

^f His travels are translated from Italian into French, and printed at Paris, in the year 1719, under this title, *Voyage du Tour du Monde*.

^h Tome Sixieme, p. 285.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 51, 52.

^k Ibid. p. 80.

most barbarous manner. They have now that rich country in possession; a viceroy, and several episcopal cities erected in it. The Peruvians are more civilized than most of the other Indians in America; they adore the sun, but believe there is another God above him, whom they call Pachacamac; their country is very fruitful in gold mines, so as it was observed, at the arrival of Pizarro, their very kitchen-pots and utensils were made of gold, and their houses covered with the same metal; which may be easily believed, if we consider the single mines of Potosi, whence the kings of Spain, in less than fifty years, for their fifth part, got above 111 millions weight, each weight consisting of thirteen reals and a quarter.

Garcilasso de la Vega, has written his Royal Commentaries of Peru, containing the history of the Yncas and many other curiosities, in folio; the book is extant in Latin, and also translated into English, by Sir Paul Rycaut. According to that author, the Yncas reigned about 400 years, before the Spaniards made themselves masters of the country, viz. from 1125 to 1525, but 'tis not my province to give a deduction of their history. The royal edifices which the Yncas built, were very sumptuous structures. The chief temple of the sun, and the palace of the Yncas at Cusco, were most magnificent, the walls of the palace being overlaid with plates of gold embellished with divers figures of men, and other animals. The royal throne, which they called Tyana, was all of massy gold, upon an estrade of gold; all the vessels of the palace were of gold or silver; of these metals did the kings cause several sorts of animals, plants, and trees with their

VOL. VIII. M branches,

branches, flowers and fruits, to be made. 'Tis affirmed, these treasures, or the greatest part of them, were hid by the Indians, after their king Atabalipa was taken by Pizarro, and could never be found by the Spaniards. The walls of the temple of the sun at Cusco, were overlaid with plates of gold, from top to bottom, and the picture of the sun, with his beams was all of gold; 'tis said, a Spaniard having found it, lost it at dice in one night. Indeed the first conquerors of Peru, by their luxury, discords and civil wars among themselves, enjoyed but for a very little time the fruits of their purchase; yea, many of them came to wretched ends^l. The remainders of the temple of the sun stand to this day, and is a part of the monastery of St. Dominic^m. Near this principal temple were four others; the first whereof was dedicated to the moon, as sister and wife of the sun, called by them Quilla, the walls and doors thereof were covered with silver; the second was consecrated to the planet Venus, called Chasca, its walls were also overlaid with silver; the third was dedicated to thunder and lightening, which they called by a common name Yllapa. The fourth temple was in honour of Iris, the rainbow, named by them Cugchu, having all the inside enriched with gold. Near these temples, was the house of the priests, who were all to be of the royal family. There were in divers provinces, several other temples, built almost in the same manner, and dedicated to the sun, but not so magnificent as that at Cusco, except one in an isle of the lake Tituaca, where

^l *Cæsar du Tour du Monde, tom. 6. p. 289—293.*
Dictionnaire on the word Peru.

^m *Great Hist.*

the Yncas had immense treasures; this was the ancientest in Peru, for which the Indians had a particular esteem.

As to the religion of the Peruvians, they adored nothing but the sun as God; the other divinities, to whom they erected temples, were inferior to him. They sacrificed to him all sorts of animals, and especially sheep; as also, all manner of grain and liquors. They consecrated virgins to the sun at eight years of age, whom they shut up in places appointed for their abode, from whence they did not go abroad, no not so much as to the temple; they preserved a perpetual virginity, employing themselves in their retirement, to make stuffs for the king and queen's clothes, and to prepare bread and drink for their solemn sacrifices; they were almost all of the blood royal. There were other monasteries in other cities of the kingdom, for maidens, who usually served for the king's concubines; the fairest daughters of the Curacas or great lords were there kept; if any of them appointed for the king, suffered herself to be corrupted, the law commanded her to be buried alive, and him who had debauched her to be strangled. They had a solemn feast for the sun.

Before the Spaniards subdued this kingdom, it had been civilized by the Yncas, who had brought them from their barbarous rites and ceremonies, to a more regular form of government; they had not so many human sacrifices as the Mexicans. Yet Joseph Acofta saysⁿ, "That for the Yncas's health, when sick, and for his victory, when he went to the wars, they sacrificed 200
M 2 children

ⁿ History of the Indies, book 5. chap. 19 p 380 —

children, from four to ten years of age." But they detested the custom of eating man's flesh; they were all clothed with garments made of cotton or hair, and had the art of spinning and weaving, managed for most part by men within doors, while their women took care of their agriculture, and other affairs abroad. They had some imperfect notice of the immortality of the soul, and of the rewards and punishments of another life. One argument of the greatness of the Yncas, was his common roads or cawseys; they had caused one to be made through the plains, another through the mountains, each 500 leagues in length, and placed houses at convenient distances on them, to lodge and supply strangers, that they might travel quite through them, without charge.

There is a barbarous sort of people inhabiting the mountains of Peru, called Moxos: Father Cyprian Baraza, a Jesuit, resided some years as a missionary among them, and essayed several ways to engage them to Christianity, but was at last murdered by them, September 16th, 1702.

The kingdom of Chili lies to the southward of Peru, along the coast of the Pacific sea; it was discovered by Diego Almagro, who took possession of it for Charles V. then king of Spain, in the year 1534, and was made governor thereof. The natives for the greatest part, are idolaters, and worship the devil, whom they call Epanomam, that is, *strong and powerful*; some of them, who are subject to the Spaniards, have been baptized.

Magellanica is the utmost part of the continent of America, to the south, lying between the 38th

and

and 52d degree of south latitude; it was first discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, in the year 1519, and takes its name from him. There is scarce any colony of Europeans in that country, those the Spaniards had, being dispersed, or perished with hunger. The natives are Heathen idolaters, and fear the devil, whom they call Setebos; they clothe themselves with beasts skins, and for most part live in caves. They are called Patagons. The Spaniards represented them as giants, but the later relations of Englishmen, who have nearly surrounded the globe, say the contrary.

Rio de la Plata, is so called from a great river of that name, which runs about 300 leagues up the country, which is also called Paraguay. Alvarez Nunnez discovered that river, and settled several Spanish colonies near it in the year 1540. The natives for the most part are Heathens; they fear the devil, and paint him with great horns. The colonies of the Spaniards are papists.

Brazil is a great country in South America, lying on the sea, from the river of the Amazons to the province of Paraguay. Its coast is in the form of a great half circle of near 1200 leagues, and the sea waters it on three sides. It is the most easterly part of all America, between the 1st and 24th degree of south latitude. Alvarez Cabrail discovered it in the year 1501, in the name of the king of Portugal. The natives go naked, they neither sow nor reap, but live by hunting, and of the fruits which the earth produceth of its own accord. They eat their enemies whom they take, rather to satisfy their revenge than their taste.

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They

^P Thes. Geog. p. 494.

^Q Great Historical Dictionary on the word Brazil.

They have no prince, no laws, and little religion. Those in the heart of the country are still unknown, and have mutual wars. The greatest part of them are counted forcerers; those who dwell on the coast are more civilized, by reason of their commerce with the Europeans. They follow the Romish religion in places subject to the Portuguese, who pretend to have made many converts among the natives; but elsewhere they have no temples, and little form of any religion, save, that they believe there is a God, and evil spirits who come to torment them. Alexander Ross says, the people of Brasil acknowledge the immortality of the soul, and that there are rewards and punishments after this life; for they hope, if they kill and sacrifice many of their enemies, they shall be carried beyond the mountains into pleasant gardens, there to dance and rejoice with their forefathers. They stand in awe of the devil, who is still vexing them, and therefore they worship him, and when they go abroad they commonly carry fire with them, as their defence against the devil, who they think is afraid of it. They have their solemn festivals, which they celebrate with dancing, howling and tattling.

The country of the Amazons is so called, because it lies along the river of the Amazons, which rises in the mountains near Quito, and runs from west to east 1800 leagues^c; it exceeds all the rivers in the world in length and breadth. The vast country, called Guiana, is not yet thoroughly known, no more than a great part of America; but there are some provinces along this river so well

^a Panfchoja, p. 173.

^c Historical Dictionary.

^e Thesaurus Geo-

graphicus, p. 496.

well inhabited, and villages there so frequent, that the sound of those who work in one is heard in another. The natives for most part go naked, but some of them have garments of cotton; they are idolaters, and make images of wood, which they set up in the corners of their houses, having no temples. They know not the use of iron or steel, but cut out their images with hatchets of stone or very hard wood. Their priests make them believe these deities come down from heaven to dwell among them. There is an excellent description of this river composed by Peter Texeira, a Portuguese, who surveyed it all over in ten months.

Terra Firma is a large country within the Torrid zone, possessed by the Spaniards; it comprehends the isthmus of north and south America, Terra Firma properly so called, the Golden Castile, the governments of Carthegena, Sancta Martha, New Cordoua, Panama, Popajan, Porto Bello, Venezuela, Nova Granada, Andalusia, Paria, &c. Du Perrier, in his Collection of Voyages, says, "The natives in these parts" have among them certain religious people, whom they call Tequinas, to whom they pay the greatest respect; these consult the devil about all affairs, as, whether they shall go to war or not? and at what time? To which the devil, being an astrologer, often gives such answers as prove proper, which the Tequinas immediately make a report of to the people. The Indians deceived by these predictions see the effect of what has been foretold a long while before it happens, which inclines them easily to believe the rest." There are certain provinces where
human

human flesh is offered to these Demons, in others they content themselves to burn incense and sweet odours to them. If it happens the success does not answer the prediction of the Tequinas, he immediately tells the people, "Their deity has changed his mind," and thus imposes upon the poor wretches. "They pay their principal devotion to the sun and moon, and likewise look on their Caciques as visible gods; they pay them all respect, and do them all the service in their power. When a Cacique comes to die, his chief servants, men and women, kill themselves, to accompany and serve him in the other world. It is a common error with them, that those who cut off themselves for the sake of their Cacique, go with him directly to the other world, to do him the same services as here upon earth; but those who have not the courage to kill themselves, die with their bodies like those of other Indians, who have not the honour to belong to the Cacique or prince. Before they make away with themselves, they have the precaution to bury in the ground maize and other provisions, to subsist them in the other world."

Beside all these territories I have discoursed of, in New Holland, New Guinea, New Zealand, Stateiland and other countries discovered lately by the Dutch, the natives are Heathens, and have oratories in which they worship their idols. In many isles of South America, which I shall not trouble my reader with, and also in some parts of the north Frigid Zone, near the Pole, the natives labour under black heathenish ignorance and infidelity.

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The account we have given of the state of Paganism over the world; as has been formerly remarked^x, does discover the insufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to happiness, and the necessity of divine revelation; since these religions invented by men, and propagated by the enemy of mankind are so absurd, and destructive to immortal souls. And we have also here a plain view, how vast a work it is to propagate the Christian religion over so great a part of the world. *The harvest truly is great, and the labourers few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest*^y.

Before I conclude this chapter, allow me to observe, that the learned Gotofredus has several remarks, which deserve our attention. After he has, in his Geography, given an account of the Spanish dominions in America, he says^z, "The Spanish America has four archbishops, one at St. Domingo, another at Mexico, a third at Lima, and a fourth at St. Foy. The first has three suffragans, the second ten, the third nine, and the fourth three. All of them have great yearly revenues; beside a great number of monks of several orders, as Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, Jesuits, and Mendicant Friars;" in all he reckons of this kind of religious persons 5000 in the Spanish conquests, besides secular priests. I nothing doubt but that number of ecclesiastics may be increased since Gotofredus's time, his book which I cite being printed in the year 1628. And Gemelli Careri, a late popish traveller, whose

voyages

^x Supra, vol 7.
330 & 6q.

^y Luke x. 2.

^z Archontologia Cosmica, p.

voyages I see printed in 1719, tells us of so great a number of ecclesiastics in the metropolitan church of Mexico, by itself alone, as do enjoy a yearly revenue of 300,000 pieces of eight^a. So great a number of churchmen, so well supported by a powerful government, might have done a great deal for propagating Christianity among infidels; but, alas! they have done little or nothing. The barbarous massacres committed by the Spanish soldiers on the poor Indians at their first entry, gave them such impressions of their new masters, as they could not be reconciled to their way: whereas a rational gaining method, with humble dependence on the grace and Spirit of God, for his assistance and influence, is the best means to persuade people to receive the gospel. The idleness, laziness, luxury, and debauchery of the popish clergy, makes them to this day unmindful and unfit for that affair, and their pride and idolatry renders them unsuccessful. Heathen idols are not to be plucked up, and Christian idols planted in the room of them; but idolatry must be pulled out root and branch.

Besides, as the same Gotofredus observes^b, "The Spanish priests were at no pains to learn the language of the Indians in order to catechise or instruct them, but only gave them a name at baptism, driving in hundreds and thousands to be baptized, who knew nothing of the Christian religion, in so far as they knew not whether they were baptized or not; and those who under-

^a Careri Tour du Monde, tom. 6 p. 33.

^b Gotofredi Archæologia

Cosmica, p. 347.

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stood they had received it, never did abandon their polygamy and idolatry." In this method real success can never be expected; but if good men did seriously apply themselves to the conversion of these people, there is no such difficulty in their language, but that it might be soon attained. For, as Gotofredus, a papist, also observes, "The language of Mexico extends over a vast country 1000 leagues in length, the native idiom of Peru or Cusco as far." By the help of one of these, a zealous good man might have done great service; the people being under some rules of government, fixed to work, and to improve their lands in their fixed habitations, it might be more easy to instruct them, than the Indians in other places, who have no fixed residence, but wander hither and thither. They might soon be made sensible of the liberty which the Christian religion admits them to, delivering them from the servitude of Satan, and those barbarous human sacrifices they were in the time of their ignorance used to perform; and since they have some notion of the immortality of the soul, this might be improved, in order to direct them in the right method to obtain everlasting happiness and shun eternal misery. If once these blessed times were come, *when the church shall come out of Babylon, when the Lord the Messiah shall be King over all the earth, one Lord and his name One, when the Spirit shall be poured out upon all flesh; then the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.*

C H A P.

* Gotofredi Archontologia Cosmica, p. 336. See also John Acosta's history of the Indies, book 7. chap. xxviii. page nr 385.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the propagation of the Christian religion, and overthrow of Paganism, since the reviving of arts and sciences, knowledge and learning in the fifteenth century, and downward to the present time.

WE have observed in the third, fourth, and sixth chapters of this history, what glorious advances the Christian religion has made over the world, to the overthrow of heathenish idolatry, in the former ages of the Christian church; what glorious trophies our Redeemer's kingdom has erected, by subduing many nations of the earth, in accomplishment of the ancient promise, *All nations shall serve him.* And in this chapter, we may discover from the fifteenth century, and to the present time, what further progress Christianity has made, even among the heathens, the habitations of horrid cruelty, whose state has been already described. Though very much remains still to be done, yet infidelity and heathenish idolatry has been in some measure crushed, Satan's kingdom has fallen like lightening, the gospel of Christ has had a free course, and been glorified in some parts, where heathenism formerly prevailed, and a way, I hope, opened for the more successful endeavours of after-ages. Divine Providence has ordered, that the reviving of arts and sciences, knowledge and learning, have contributed to this good-work; and therefore, I shall in a few words take notice of these great improvements.

The

The art of Printing was found out at Mentz, by John Faustus, in the year 1450^a this made books and learning have a more easy passage over the world. It is much cheaper and easier to buy a printed book, than to transcribe a manuscript out of a library. The useful invention of the mariners needle or compass, was discovered at Terra di Lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples, about the year 1330^b. The ancients, for want of this, knew little of Navigation, but only coasting; whereas in our days, bold pilots adventure thro' the ocean, pass the equator and tropics, yea, surround the world. The inhabitants of the East Indies, for many ages had been little disturbed by strangers, till the Portuguese, under the conduct of Vasco di Gama, about the latter end of the fifteenth century, began to settle there; to the great advantage of their country; but the Dutch being more cunning and diligent, wormed them out of a great part of their trade afterward. America, in a manner the half of the world, was unknown to Europe, till the way was opened thither by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, in the year 1492: he got but an ordinary reward for so important a discovery. Americo Vesputio, a Florentine, in the year 1497, made some farther progress, which has been very much improved in later times.

Knowledge and learning in Europe suffered a great shock, and was in hazard to dwindle into nothing, by the decay of the Western Empire, and the inundation of the northern barbarous nations in the fifth and sixth centuries. Charlemain did

^a Guido Pancirollus nuper inventarum rerum memorabilium pag. mihi 371. Edit. Francofurti, in 4^{to}. ^b Ibid. p. 233, 236.

did endeavour to restore it in France, and propagate it over his empire; but in the ninth, tenth, and some subsequent centuries, by the idleness and debauchery of the monks, and others of the Romish clergy, by their scholastic quibbles, doting upon peripatetic philosophy, and neglecting to improve the Holy Scriptures, the languages, the mathematics, or almost any useful part of learning, it was again like to go to ruin; 'till about the end of the fifteenth century, by the diligence of some great men, learning began to revive, which was further advanced by our reformers from Popery in the sixteenth century, and by the careful improvements of some eminent men since that time*.

How far these things did tend to open a door for the propagation of the Christian religion over the world, we may see in the words of the learned Monsieur Jurieu. He says^a, "God has revived the light of knowledge of the sciences, which was almost quite extinguished under the barbarism of scholastic learning. In the last century, God caused the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues to revive, which was of such use for understanding the sacred inspired writings, and the confutation of heresy and idolatry, that the Papists do not scruple to say, "it is what has undone them." In this century, the providence of God has carried the acuteness and delicacy of mens minds to that degree, that it may be truly said, the most enlightened and refined ages, were barbarous in comparison of this. The speculative sciences and true philosophy are brought to

* The Improvements of Moderns, see in Wotton's Reflections on Learning.
^a Preface to the Accomplishment of Prophecies.

to that perfection, that all we have had before may be reckoned simplicity and ignorance. This new philosophy does open and enlarge the mind, and the light we receive from it does very much to scatter that thick darkness, which the philosophy of the schools had cast upon the doctrine of religion. We shall shortly see of what use this may be, to destroy the monsters of Transubstantiation and the Real Presence. I look upon the voyages of our Europeans, the discoveries made of new countries in the East and West, and the improvement of the art of Navigation, to be a mean which God prepares for the fulfilling of that great promise, that concerns the conversion the Gentiles. Why did God reserve the invention of the sea-compass to these last times? Why was it not known three or four hundred years sooner, what was it to sail upon the ocean at great distance from the shore? Was there less curiosity, covetousness, or industry among men formerly than now? For what reason would God, that one half of the world should live in ignorance of the other for so long a time?—For my own part, I cannot but look upon this as a work of a most wise Providence, discovering to us unknown people, whose conversion he designs to bring about in a short time. I consider the great number of half Christians which the popish missions make in the Indies, to be just as proselytes of the Gate, which the Jews made; they were properly neither Jews nor Christians, but were the seed of Christianity. These eastern converts, made by Papists, are neither Heathens nor Christians, but they will be the first part of the harvest God intends to have among this people; and after they are

are fully converted, they will be very serviceable to promote the conversion of those who are yet altogether Pagans. I admire, says he, the depth of divine providence, that by insensible steps and degrees, disposeth the Mahometan nations for Christianity. For this we need but consult the second book of *the present state of the Ottoman Empire*, by Sir Paul Rycaut, where we meet with a sect of Mahometans, who believe the Messiah took a natural body, that being eternal, he became incarnate, as the Christians believe; wherefore they insert that article into their Confession of Faith, "That Christ shall come to judge the world at the last day^e."

We may also observe, with Mr. Jenkyns^r, that Christianity has been still professed in those parts of the world, where there has been most learning and commerce, where they have been most able, and had greatest opportunities to instruct other nations. To which end, the vast extent, first of the Greek, Latin, and Syriac, and since of the Persian, Slavonic, and Arabic tongues, have been very advantageous; the scriptures of the New Testament being written in the first, and translated into all the rest. And though by the just and wise providence of God, Mahometans and idolaters have been suffered to possess themselves of those places in Greece, Asia, and Africa, where the Christian religion formerly most flourished, yet there are still remainders of the Christian religion among them, so as to give them opportunity to be converted, when their sins shall not hinder to restore the gospel to these countries as before.

For,

^e Rycaut's present state of the Ottoman empire, lib. 2. cap. 11. 12.

^r Reasonableness of the Christian religion, vol. 1. pag. 116, & seq.

For, by Mr. Brerewood's account^a, in the dominions of the Turks in Europe, the Christians make two third parts at least of the inhabitants; and in Constantinople itself, he reckons above twenty Christian churches, and above thirty in Thessalonica, where the Mahometans have, or had but three mosques. Philadelphia, now called Alasha-kir, has no fewer than twelve Christian churches^b. The whole island of Chio is governed by Christians; there are above thirty Latin churches, and above five hundred Greek; and in some other islands of the Archipelago, there are none but Christians. Which, by Sir Paul Rycaut's account^c of the present state of the Ottoman empire, has not been without very considerable effect; for a sect among the Turks, called Haietti, hold, "That Christ is eternal, that he was incarnate, and that he shall come to judge the world at the last day." The students in the Grand Signior's court generally maintain, "That Christ is God, and the Redeemer of the world." This is a common tenet in Constantinople, the professors of it are stiled, *Chup Messahi*, or, *the good followers of the Messiah*; and some have suffered martyrdom in maintenance of this doctrine. The Turkish soldiers, on the confines of Hungary and Bosnia, read the gospel in the Sclavonian tongue. Bernier writes^d, that in the country of the Mogul, though the missionaries make some progress among the Gentiles, yet they do not, in ten years, make one Christian of a Mahometan; but he says, the Great Mogul, Jehan Guire, grand-father to Aureng-Zebe,

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Zebe,

^a Brerewood's Enquiry, chap. 20. ^b Rycaut's present state of the Greek Church, pag. 74. ^c Lib. 2. cap. 11, 12. ^d Memoirs, tom 3

Zebe, consented, that two of his nephews should be Christians, and declares, that the Mahometans have venerable thoughts of our religion; that they never speak of Christ, but with great reverence; that they never pronounce the word *Ayfa*, i. e. *Jesus*, without adding that of *Azaret*, which signifies *Majesty*; that they agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a virgin-mother, and that he is the Kelum Allah, and Rouh-Allah, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God. All which is no more than the Alcoran teaches them, nor than the Mahometans of Persia and Morocco pretend to believe. The Persian Mahometans ¹ receive among their sacred books, the Pentateuch, the Psalms, all the books of the prophets, and the four Evangelists; the reading of these, has been the means which God has been pleased to make use of, for the conversion of many persons of great eminency. In the kingdom of Morocco, they receive the books of Moses, the Psalms, and the four Gospels, and observe the festival of St. John, tho' in the Gospels they follow the false glosses of Sergius and the Alcoran ¹. Sir Thomas Roe observes ^m, that the Great Mogul, Erbar Sha, gave the missionaries all manner of encouragement and assistance, with full liberty to all sorts of his subjects to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, and that neither Jehan Guire, to whom he was sent ambassador, nor any of all the sects in his kingdom, uttered any disrespectful words of Christ, as they did not forbear to do of Mahomet; which, says he, is a wonderful secret working of God's truth, and worth observing. It is also observed

¹ Sanson Royaume de Perse.
Mr. de St. Olon.

^m Letter, October 29, 1616.

¹ Relation de l'Empire de Maroc, p.

served lately, by a learned author^a, that the Christians had better terms from Mahomet himself, than any of his tributaries; and, that there is no Mahometan country, where the Christian religion is not esteemed the best, next to their own, and the professors thereof accordingly respected by them, before any other sort of men that differ from them.

Peter Texeira, in the account of his travels from India to Italy, by land, says^o, "That near Bassora, he saw the Mahometans praying to a place which looked like a hermitage, standing on the banks of the river; and asking, what place that was? they answered, it was dedicated to Iza ben Mariam, that is, to Jesus the son of Mary, shewing a considerable quantity of land, and palm-tree groves, whose revenues belonged to that chapel; which I much admired, says he, for tho' I knew the Mahometans honoured him much by the title of Rugalah, which signifies *the Breath of God*, yet I never heard they dedicated a church to him."

My present business is to enquire into the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the world possessed by Heathens, where I shall not forget the endeavours either of Papists or Protestants, so far as they have come to my knowledge.

The order of time leads me to begin with the popish missions. The Portuguese being the first who opened the way by navigation, to the East-Indies, we may find in the historians of that nation, the first account of popish missionaries, from the fifteenth century and downward. That I

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might

^a Prideaux's Life of Mahomet. ^o Texeira's Travels, pag. 17. in a Collection of Travels, printed 1711, in 4to.

might be able to meet with them, I have looked into Manuel di Faria y Sousa, who has written the history of the discovery and conquest of India by the Portuguese, containing all their discoveries from the coasts of Africa, to the farthest parts of China and Japan; all their battles by sea and land, sieges and other memorable actions, with a description of those countries, in three tomes; which are englished by Captain Stevens, and printed at London, 1695, where we have a history of the Portuguese navigations and affairs in these countries, from the year 1412, to 1640. Many of these things, in remote parts of the world, seem a little tedious to us, tho' we may own, that in this history there are many strange adventures, and bloody encounters: Into the detail of which I do not enter; only may observe, that Vasco di Gama, with three ships, first discovered the way to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1493. Very considerable conquests and settlements were made by him, and by the Portuguese afterward, under the government of Alfonso di Albuquerque, from the year 1509, to 1515. Ferdinando di Castaneda, in his history of the Indies^p, says, "That Gama, with some of his retinue being at Calecut, and entering into the Pagan temples, paid their reverence to the images there, taking them for the same which they had left in their own churches in Portugal: A convincing proof, that Pagan and Romish idols are so like, that the difference is hardly discernible, even by their own votaries!

But I am principally to observe what relates to the

^p Lib. 1. cap. 16. See Philips's religion and manners of Malabar.

the propagation of Christianity. Our author, Manuel di Faria, says ^q, that the king and queen of Congo in Africa, with a great multitude of their people, were baptized in the year 1491. He also remarks, that some princes of Malabar, long before the Portuguese conquests in the Indies, were persuaded by the Moors, who traded in these parts, to turn Mahometan ^r. It were happy, if Christians who now trade into those parts, could have the influence to persuade those princes to embrace Christianity. The same author says, that about the year 1544, in the government of Martin Alfonso de Sousa, one Anthony de Payva, who went as a merchant, but proved more preacher than merchant, had some conference with the king of Supa, who was seventy years of age, and was very near being converted. Payva sailing thence, went to the port of Siam, where he explained the articles of religion to the king, and urged the absurdity of the adoration of idols, pressing him to embrace the Christian faith; but the king desired time to consider. Mean time the king of Supa arrived at Siam, and hearing what had passed, said, "a work so good ought rather to be put in execution than delayed." He was only sorry for the time he himself had lost, and would atone, by being the first convert, and desired immediately to be baptized. All stood amazed, and there being no priest, the ancientest of the Portuguese performed the function, and he was christened Lewis. Then the queen, and many who came with him, were baptized also: which solemnity was celebrated by the guns, and warlike instruments

^q Portuguese Asia, tom. 1, page 32.^r Ibidem, tom. 1. page 100.

ments in the place. The king of Siam, moved by this example, was baptized, with his whole family^f. I relate the story as I find it.

In tome 2d, part 4th, this author^g has a pretty large account of the opinions and superstitions of the Asiatic Heathens, and particularly of the Indians; which I shall not trouble my reader with, having explained them from other authors, in the former chapter. Near the end of that volume, he says^h, "Christianity being now utterly corrupted in some parts of Asia, and quite lost in others, the Portuguese arms, accompanied with apostolical ministers, went thither to restore it. The first who baptized in that part of Asia, was F. Peter de Cubilones, of the holy order of the Blessed Trinity, and confessor to the first discoverer, Vasco di Gama. The most successful labourers after him, were in India, Michael Vaz, and James de Borba, and other religious, of the order of St. Francis. In the Molucca islands, Captain Francis di Castro, who converted five kings in the island Mazacar, Captain Anthony de Payva, who, in the same island, baptized two kings, and their courts in one day." There is very little more concerning the propagation of Christianity in this Portuguese history; the most part of it being taken up with their wars, conquests, good and bad fortune, by sea and land. 'Tis true, they had, and still have an archbishop at Goa, whom they call metropolitan and primate of Asia; Cochim was made a bishopric in the year 1559, Malacca the same year, and Meliapor in 1607ⁱ, beside many other ecclesiastics. But they are now dispos-

fessed

^f Portuguese Asia, tom. 2. pag. 81, 82.

^g Ibidem, pag. 375, & seq.

^h Ibid. pag. 516. ⁱ Di Faria's Portuguese Asia, tom. 3. pag. 419.

essed of almost all these parts, except Goa; and when they had them they minded little about the propagation of Christianity.

The great man the church of Rome boasts of, as most successful in this work, is Francis Xavier, whom they call the apostle of the Indies. The sum of his life, even as given by popish authors^r, is as follows: He was born of a noble family at Pamplona, in Navarre, in the year 1497; he studied and taught philosophy and divinity at Paris, whence he went companion to Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of Jesuits, and followed his rule. He came to Portugal, in order to pass into India, in the year 1540, in the reign of king John III. he was honoured with the dignity of Apostolical Nuncio in the east, and during his voyage, and also in the Indies, was called Holy Father; he preached in the island Zocotora, at Goa, and Travancor, where he was persecuted. It cost him no less pains to reclaim the Portuguese, debauched with the riches of Asia, than to convert infidels. In the island Ceylon, he converted the king of Candea; he went thence to the Moluccoes, and is said to have converted many people. After several times traversing the Indian islands, and some parts of that continent, he went to Japan, and with the prince's leave preached at Congoxima, and endured several hardships; thence went to Firando, Yam, Anguihi, and Miaco, where, with great pains, he planted the faith. After converting the king of Bungo, who soon after died a Christian, being called Francis at baptism, he returned to Malacca. Next, he prepared to go into China, and

and died at the entry to it, in the island Sancyon, A. D. 1552. the fifty-fifth year of his age, and eleventh of his preaching, having first foretold the day of his death, which was December 2d, about midnight. His body, the year following, was translated to Goa; he was canonized by Pope Gregory XV. in the year 1622. This is the whole story of his life, as delivered by Manuel di Faria. As to the great number of converts he is said to have made, I have taken some notice of them already^a, and shall perhaps meet with them again, before I have done with this chapter. And as to the miracles he is alledged to have done, recited in his bull of canonization by pope Urban VIII. in the year 1623, the first of his pontificate, noticed by F. Bouhours and other writers of Xavier's life, and summed by Hoornbeeck^b; as, that a whole army that was marching against the Christians, at the sight of Xavier, was terrified, and forced to retire; that at Comorin he restored a dead man to life; that he healed a beggar full of ulcers, by washing him in water; calmed tempests; restored several to life, as they were carrying out to be buried; that at Tolo in the Moluccoes, having baptized twenty-five thousand people, when they were like to apostatize, he made a mountain to vomit up a great deal of fire, ashes, and pumice-stones, the walls of the city to fall flat by an earthquake, and to be taken by its enemies, prepared to revenge the apostacy of that people; but at last, when the people fell at his feet, and declared their repentance, he pardoned their fault: that when he preached to several nations,

^a Above, p. 114.^b Hoornbeeck *de Conversione Indorum*, p. 203,

tions, every one heard him speaking in their own language; thus they make an apostle of him: These things are like other miracles, advanced to favour the canonization of popish saints, fabulous and romantic, that cannot be credited, but by those who are given up to strong delusions, to believe a lie. How could such an itinerant preacher learn so many difficult languages, so as to be able to preach to, and instruct so many far distant people, in different countries and islands, and all in eleven years space? Especially, since these gifts are now ceased, and Xavier himself says ^b, "If we understood the language of Japan, I doubt not but very many would be persuaded to embrace Christianity; but now we are as dumb statues before them, they speak many things before us, which we understand not, being ignorant of their native tongue, and we, in the mean time, are like boys, learning the first elements of their language." After all, it appears by the Jesuits letters, and others, who have travelled into those parts, that the papists invoke and idolize Xavier, and keep festivals to his memory: but 'tis time to take our leave of him.

The church of Rome has been at great pains to compass sea and land to make profelytes. 'Tis not easy, nor very edifying, to give account of all the missions, the several nations in her communion, have sent here and there thro' the earth. But we have a view of the state of religion among them, throughout the world, written for the use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monseignior Cerri, secretary to the congregation de Propaganda Fide, which

^b Xavier. Epist. lib. 3. Epist. 5.

which was found in the library of the abbot of St. Gall, after he had been defeated by the troops of Zurich and Bern, and lodged in the library of Zurich. Sir Richard Steele has caused it to be translated into English, and printed in the year 1715. From this author, I take the following account of the popish missionaries for propagating Christianity among the Heathens in Asia, Africa, and America; following pretty near the method of the former chapter, and sometimes adding a few remarks from others. When I have done with him, I shall give some accounts of popish missionaries from other authors, and particularly of the missions to China.

I begin with Asia. The ancients, says D. Urbano Cerri^c, had some knowledge of the East Indies; but 'tis certain, the discovery of these countries ought properly to be ascribed to the Portuguese, who having crossed the seas, made themselves arbiters, if not masters, of all these coasts and islands, which are divided into many kingdoms. The Portuguese have been possessed of them for a long time, to the advantage of the catholic faith. The fear the Indians conceived of being subject to the crown and laws of Portugal, if they should become Christians, put a stop to their conversion. These nations being divided into several tribes, had rather suffer any thing than forsake their own tribe; and therefore a Jesuit, named Robert de Nobili, before he went into a mission to the kingdom of Madure, used himself to the austere life of the Brachmans, abstaining from wine and flesh, and every thing that had life in

^c Account of the Roman Catholic Religion through the world, p. 104. and following —

in it. He being arrived in the East Indies, said he was a Brachman, which, says my author, was no lie, and made great progress in the conversion of the Indians, preaching up, "That every body ought to remain in his own tribe." After he had converted twelve Brachmans, he made them his companions and catechists, and baptized in a very little time forty thousand persons of several tribes. Being sensible of the usefulness of this method to proselyte the Heathens, he proposed to erect a seminary of Brachmans to make them, if not priests; at least catechists; but the Portuguese, and Jesuits themselves, did not approve of it. Thus, after the death of that father, the true method of keeping and increasing the number of new converts fell to the ground. There are in the college de Propaganda Fide, some places for the Brachmans, founded by Cardinal St. Onofrio, and three Brachmans are at present educated in that college.

The empire of the Great Mogul is an inlet to the Indies, both by sea and land; his empire consists of thirty-seven kingdoms, now reduced into provinces, where he keeps governors: so that he is equal to, if not greater than the Turkish emperor, in power and riches. As for religion, he is a Mahometan, and follows the exposition of the Alcoran made by Ali: he has a great veneration for one of his ancestors, who reigned at the end of the last century, who seems to have had some knowledge of the Catholic religion; for he had a great esteem for images, and our priests; nay, he sent for one as far as Bengala, to be instructed by him; but because he did not well understand the mysteries of our faith, and would not part with
his

his concubines, he could not be converted. This emperor was succeeded by his son, who, when in rebellion against his father, was defeated by the advice of the Portuguese, whereupon he swore to his false prophet, "That if ever he should reign, he would persecute all the Christians:" and indeed, he destroyed a whole town belonging to the Portuguese. However, many conversions being made in his father's time, there was in the year 1640, some hope of bettering the condition of our religion, which is the reason why the congregation was desired to send missionaries into that kingdom. The Theatines lived in the kingdom of Golconda, which is tributary to the Great Mogul, and rich in mines and diamonds: that mission, which was the only one in that country, is now quite over. But the bare-footed Carmelites are settled at Tatta, a populous city, where they have a church, and some faithful; but very much lessened, since the Portuguese were expelled from thence. Surat is a famous port, where the French Capuchins make their residence, who are serviceable to the missionaries. To conclude, the Great Mogul allows liberty of conscience in his vast dominions; which should move the Holy See to provide that empire with missionaries, and even to send thither a bishop to propagate the Christian religion.

Idalcan is a populous kingdom of Heathens, not far from Goa; there is a congregation of priests, who are natives of that country, and all Brachmans; they have made a vast number of converts, and live in common under the rule of St. Philip Neri, founded there by the Bishop of Crispoli, who was an Indian, and died lately very old
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in the college de Propaganda Fide. After he had been bred at Rome, and made a bishop, he was sent into that kingdom, where he built two churches at his own charge. There is now in that country one of his kinsmen, with the title of Apostolical Vicar, called the bishop of Hierapoli, bred at the college. Another Indian bishop has been lately made; he is a Theatine, and related to the bishop of Crispoli above named; he has jurisdiction as an apostolical vicar in several kingdoms about Cape Comorin, and the coast of Pescara; we hope for good from him, but the Portuguese are displeased with bishops sent from Rome into those parts, without their consent; and if the holy see does not put a stop to their pretensions, religion will neither be propagated nor preserved in the East Indies.

As to Malabar, Christianity was established there by the glorious apostle St. Thomas; the Christians who live in the states of twenty-one petty kings, have one thousand four hundred villages, great or small, and an hundred and twenty-seven churches, with their priests. The number of these Christians, says M. Cerri^d, amounts to two hundred thousand. They have a veneration for the holy cross, are careful to pray for the souls in purgatory, and to fast; though they live in woods and mountains, yet they prove good Catholics, and obedient to the bishop of Rome. They fell into the schism of Nestorius, but were freed from it by the intercession of Alexio Menezes in the time of pope Paul V. and had a native for their arch-deacon, who being an ambitious man, dispensed the

^d Cerri, ubi supra p. 108.

the sacraments invalidly, and committed many irregularities. The bare-footed Carmelites being sent to them, they returned to the obedience of the church of Rome, and an Indian bishop was regularly ordained for them. Many Jesuits were sent to their country, and continued there forty years. Of this church in Malabar, I have discoursed more fully in the foregoing chapter^e; where the reader may find a more full and true account of these Christians.

M. Cerri next goes to Bengala, and says, in this vast country, watered by the Ganges, there are twenty-two thousand Christians, divided into eleven parishes, each of which has a curate and vicar; but there are great disorders, not only among the lay-Christians, who plunge themselves into all manner of vice, but even among the curates themselves, who live a loose life, keep a great many servants, are generally very ignorant of the languages and sciences, and extremely greedy of money, which has occasioned many inconveniences.

M. Cerri laments^f, that the Dutch company have possessed themselves of the isles of Java and Moluccoes, seized the city Malacca, settled themselves in Ceylon, and taken many other places in Bijnagar, in the coasts of Travancor, Cranganor, Conanor, &c. and in short, are very powerful in the East Indies. That the Danes have a fortress at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel; and the English at Matras. But though all this be a loss to the designs of the church of Rome, yet I hope it shall prove useful for promoting true Christianity

^e See page 72, — 82. ^f Cerri, ubi supra, pag. 112.

tianity among the Heathen Indians, as we may hear more fully before we have done with this history.

Goa is still in possession of the Portuguese, where a popish archbishop resides. Concerning this city, I shall add from another author^s, that Albuquerque, the victorious Portuguese, took it in the year 1509, and his countrymen afterward defended it against seventy thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, which Idul-Cann brought to reduce it; and it has been since much enlarged and beautified. Above twenty little towns, planted by the Portuguese, are seen within thirty miles compass; as also the ruins of two hundred idol temples which the viceroy Antonio Norogna utterly demolished, that no memory nor monuments might remain of so gross heathenish idolatry.

Above forty of the Philippine islands are under the dominion of the king of Spain, above five hundred monks are dispersed through these isles, where, says M. Cerri, they teach the Christian doctrine, and have many converts. The most considerable of them is Luffon, in which stands Manilla an archiepiscopal city, full of churches, convents; colleges, hospitals, and other religious places. These isles have produced very diligent men for the missions of Japan, and now many Dominicans and Franciscans go from them into China. Gemelli Careri has a beautiful description of them^h. In the beginning of the sixth volume of the Jesuits letters, printed at Paris, by a letter given at Carouvepondi in the kingdom of Carnate,

^s Sir Thomas Herbert's travels, in Harris's collection, vol 1. p 210.

^h Tour du Monde, tome cinquieme. Paris 1719.

Carnate, January 1st, 1702, we have a discovery of several more Philippine islands than were before known, with a chart of them.

The isles called Ladrones are in the South Sea, three hundred leagues distant from the Philippines, ill provided with things necessary for life. It is within these ten years that a Spanish Jesuit, called father St. Vittores, did so prevail with the queen, her ministers, and his superiors, that he settled there a mission of his own order, which made a great progress in a short time; but at last he suffered martyrdom, with two of his companions and therefore six other fathers were sent thither last year, to assist the former mission.

China is a vast empire, divided from Tartary by a wall of five hundred leagues; 'tis very populous, and abounds with every thing necessary for use. The inhabitants are all idolaters, excepting some few, who have been made Christians within these hundred years. The progress of Christianity among the Chinese was so considerable in the very beginning, that one might have expected a speedy and easy conversion of that people; but the fathers of the society having obtained the title of Mandarines, and the eminent post of the head of the mathematicians, to which sciences the Chinese are mighty pretenders, they were not only banished from that country, but also a persecution raised against the Roman Catholic religion. They falsely accused these fathers of keeping intelligence with the Portuguese, to the prejudice of China, and of a design to have it subdued by European nations. Whereupon the Tartars, who now reign in that country, conquered by the father of the present king, suspecting

ing, that during that prince's minority the people had a mind to shake off their yoke, prohibited all manner of commerce with foreigners, and particularly with the Portuguese. We are informed, this severe edict has been recalled, and that it has been declared, "The catholic religion is not prejudicial to the empire of China :". And therefore the Dominicans in the Philippine islands, the Minor Observantines, and even the Jesuits, have begun to return to that country. But the last letters from thence inform us, there are new wars in that empire, that the Chinese of the ancient royal family have begun to expel the Tartars; and therefore 'tis to be feared, such a change of government may, for some politic ends, occasion new persecutions against the Roman catholic religion. But of the popish missions to China, we may speak more afterwards.

Siam is a kingdom situate in the southern part of the Indies, beyond the gulf of Bengala, and consists of eleven provinces, once as many kingdoms, the chief whereof is Siam, so called from its capital city, where its king resides; there he has a public church and a seminary, where the natives are instructed to be made priests. In the beginning of the mission he desired to be informed of the mysteries of our religion, which were explained to him by the missionaries in the Siamese language, and he allowed materials to build a church, which was done. The Mahometans obstruct propagating the faith, and send missions to the king, to persuade him to embrace Mahometanism, yet our missionaries make great progress.

Cochin-China borders on Tonchin and Siam. The inhabitants appear well affected to Christianity, and, were it not for persecution and royal edicts, would embrace it. This kingdom is under the pastoral care of the bishop of Barutti, he and other missionaries have made great progress there, and in the kingdom of Ciampa subject to it.

Cambaja pays now tribute to the King of Cochin-China. There is a very ancient temple, as famous among the Gentiles, as St. Peter's at Rome is among the Christians; many Talapoins, who are great doctors of the law, live in the temple, neighbouring nations resort to it, to consult the oracle, and go thither by way of pilgrimage: the king of Siam, though an enemy, sends every year an embassy to that place. The apostolical vicars have made converts in this kingdom, but because the language of the country is difficult, and for some other reasons, have not been able to propagate the Christian faith in it. There are many forcerers in this and the adjacent kingdoms.

Tonchin eight hundred years ago was a province of China and Cochin-China; it is now a kingdom almost as large as France, and very fruitful, lying in the Torrid Zone. Their king, called Bua, never comes out of his palace but once a year, to receive homage from the king of Civa; he has full power over the provinces, and makes war or peace as he thinks fit. Father Alexander de Rhodes, a Jesuit, was the first who brought Christianity to that kingdom, where it was spread by the diligence of the fathers who accompanied him; but a violent persecution forced him to leave that kingdom, so as in the year 1666, when the missionaries

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tionaries sent by the bishop of Barutti arrived there, the Christian religion was prohibited under severe penalties: but by their application, they have converted many eminent persons at court, and in other parts of the country. Though the persecution has been revived, and attended with death and torments of the faithful, yet, as it happened in the primitive church, the Christian religion has increased by the blood of the martyrs. Gemelli Careri says, "These people are idolaters¹, but they are easy to be converted; and when once they have embraced the faith, they continue stedfast in it."

Japan consists of three great islands, and is divided into sixty-six kingdoms. The Roman catholic religion was first preached in that country by Francis Xavier, and then by Peter Batta martyr. It made great progress in a short time, particularly in the city Nangasacki, or Nangazachi, a port of great trade. The number of Christians in Japan, says my author², did once amount to six hundred thousand. Some bishops were consecrated, and many more designed for that country, by the congregation de Propaganda Fidei. Many things occasioned the persecution there raised against the Latins, and the destruction of religion in Japan; but the main cause, was the emperor's suspicion, that the king of Spain designed to subdue him, as he had done the kings of Mexico and Peru. Being told, "That the king of Spain made use of monks, who by preaching the gospel in America, opened a way for his troops to enter into those parts

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¹ Tour du Monde, tome troisieme, p. 387.
126.

² Cerri, ubi supra, p.

parts of the world;" and observing in his own dominions Augustines and Dominicans, and that the Jesuits had seventy-three houses, with several churches and seminaries; he began to fear some such mischief to be a hatching. This calumny was invented by the Dutch, who traded in these islands, and the emperor was confirmed in his suspicion, because a captain of Biscay, who used to sound the ports of Japan, performed on the shore the military ceremonies practised in taking possession of a country, and the King of Vexory, tributary to the emperor of Japan, sent an embassy to the king of Spain in the year 1613. The persecution began in 1615, and, it seems, the fathers of the jesuitical society did contribute to it, by meddling with political affairs, and trading publicly. Their hardships continued many years, many of their order were martyred, with a vast number of other religious and lay people, and particularly an army of forty thousand Roman catholics. Thus Christianity was in a manner extirpated in Japan. "Had the natives, says M. Cerri, been ordained priests, it would have prevailed to this very day, notwithstanding all persecution; however, there are still many catholics in that country, who propagate the Christian faith among themselves, the fathers baptize their children, and many suffer martyrdom every year. They stand in great need of missionaries, the Dominicans in the Philippine islands endeavour to send some privately."

Leaving M. Cerri a little, we may guess what sort of Christians those popish proselytes were, by a passage of captain Sarris's voyage to these islands in

in 1611, or thereabouts. "I cannot, says he¹, but take notice of an odd mistake in a matter of devotion made by some Japanese gentlewomen whom I admitted into my cabin; these were some whom the Portuguese Jesuits had been at work upon, and had learned them some little matters of Christianity, as the saying of a few gibberish prayers, or the cringing before an image or picture came to. The good women being in the cabin, chanced to cast their eyes upon a picture of Venus and Cupid that hung there, at which sight they were immediately seized with a fit of devotion, and clapped upon their knees without any more ado, tumbling out all the religion they had learned of the fathers, and very zealous they were in their addresses to the two modest deities painted before them. The business was, they mistook this pair for the blessed Virgin and her Son, whom the Jesuits had given them so slender an account of, that they knew no difference between them and Cupid and Venus."

To return, leaving Asia for a while, I pass with M. Cerri, into

Africa: Though this part of the world be larger than Europe, it contains not so many inhabitants, by reason of the vast deserts that are there. The congregation has sent missions thither, but they do not remain, through the bad temper of the Africans, and want of patience in the missionaries.

Egypt is a noble country of great trade, it was conquered by Sultan Selim in the year 1517; 'tis now inhabited by Turks and Arabians, and Christian

tian Greeks, and Cophtes. The Arabic language is necessary to their conversion; the million resides at Cairo, whence the fathers may send to comfort the Catholic slaves in the Turkish galleys. The number of the Latins all over Egypt, doth not amount to 2000, among whom are many merchants of several nations, especially French and Venetian. The Cophtes make up 4000 souls, and might easily be converted to the Catholic church, says my author^m, if they were instructed by good-natured missionaries. They have a patriarch, that dignity is always bestowed on a mere monk, who has constantly lived in celibacy in a cloister: and therefore, whosoever is once a bishop, can never be made a patriarch. Their chief errors are, they look on Dioscorus and Eutyches as saints, they practise circumcision though they are baptized; they do not acknowledge the Pope, but the patriarch of Alexandria; they reject the council of Chalcedon, and admit but one nature, one will, and one operation in Christ.

Here allow me to observe, that though the popish writers against Protestants maintain the perpetual consent of the Greek and Latin church, and its subjection to the See of Rome, as *Leo Alatus, de Ecclesiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis perpetua consensione*, and others; yet when they write to lay the state of the church before the Pope, in order to promote their own designs, they plainly own the Greek church to be schismatics and heretics, not subject to their church. This appears not only from the passage before us, but also from several others in M. Cerri, particularly, when he

speaks

^m Urbano Cerri, as above, pag. 128.

speaks of any country where the Greek religion is professed. Thus he owns^a, "That the Christians in Ethiopia acknowledge the patriarch of Alexandria as their supreme head in spiritual things." To proceed with M. Cerri:

There was in Arda and Nigritia, a mission of Capuchins of the province of Castile, sent thither in the year 1659, by the congregation, at the request of the king of that country, by his ambassador at the court of Spain. The missionaries met with a kind reception, but they soon went off without making any considerable progress, supposing, the king pretended to turn Catholic, only to settle a trade with Spain. Some missionaries are since returned to that country.

In the year 1652, the congregation founded in the kingdom of Sierra de Leone, a mission of Spanish Capuchins; they set out, 15 in number, but three of them only arrived in that country; the rest were taken by the Portuguese then at war with Spain. These missionaries converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and many commons, and built some churches in their chief towns; for which reason some other religious were sent thither in 1657, and 1664, but Monseignior Molini, his holiness's nuncio in Spain, has informed the congregation this present year, that this mission is wholly forsaken, the churches spoiled and destroyed, and that the Catholics there have no ministry.

The kingdom of Oviero lies on the west coast of Africa, bordering upon the kingdom of Benin; the king of that country, having embraced the Catholic

^a Urbano Cerri, pag. 130.

Catholic religion, wrote a letter to Innocent X. in the year 1651, beseeching the Pope to send him some evangelic ministers, for the benefit of himself and his subjects. Accordingly a mission of Capuchins was settled, not only in the kingdom of Oviero, but also in that of Benin, though all the inhabitants of the latter are Heathen idolaters, and even worship their king. Thirteen priests with their præfect were sent thither; they made a great progress, not only converting the king, but also persuaded him to marry a Portuguese woman. Afterward they were persecuted by the Vicar-general, who pretended, they could not be there without his permission, he sent the præfect prisoner to Lisbon, where he was soon set at liberty. That country is now governed in ecclesiastic affairs by the bishop of St. Thomas, a Portuguese.

There are in Guinea, which is a vast country under the Torrid Zone, many colonies of English, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes; a mission of Capuchins was settled there in 1674, at the request of the provincial of Bretagne, who was informed the inhabitants were very teachable, and almost without any religion. These missionaries being arrived in Guinea, were kindly received by the king of the Negroes, and said mass in his presence.

In a place called, *The Bastion of France*, there was a mission of bare-footed Augustines for Numidia, and the adjacent provinces; but it was suppressed by the death of a French merchant, who supported the same.

In the year 1636, the Capuchins of the province of Normandy were sent missionaries to Cape Verde,

Verde, and their provincial had the title of Præfect given him; but they left the country, because they could not live in it.

The kingdom of Congo lies on the western shore of Africa, and reaches almost to the confines of Ethiopia. It is divided into six large countries, inhabited by Christians and Heathens; it was converted to the Christian faith by the Portuguese, about the year 1490. Pope Clement VIII. granted them a bishop; he erected a cathedral in the capital city called St. Salvador, and put it under the archbishop of Lisbon, but the Portuguese removed it to Loanda, and called it the bishopric of Angola. The congregation founded a mission of Capuchins there in 1641, who make their residence at Loanda, where they have a church and a convent with a choir. They have made great progress in these kingdoms, converting many inhabitants, and have introduced the sacraments according to the rites of the church of Rome. The tyranny of the nobility is a great obstruction, who being extremely addicted to rapine, think it lawful and honourable to take away other mens goods. The people, who are rather slaves than subjects, dare not depart from their example. There is no place in the kingdom of Congo, (much less in other Pagan countries not so well instructed) but what has an idolatrous priest, who is a necromancer and a sorcerer; tho' these priests fear and shun the missionaries, confessing, "they cannot withstand the ministers of our God," yet they leave nothing unattempted to convert the simple, and do very much prejudice to religion. 'Tis undeniable, that the number of Christian priests cannot be sufficient there, unless
some

some of the natives be ordained, as the congregation has frequently declared.

The isle of Madagascar, or St. Laurence, lies over-against the eastern shore of Africa to the south; it is as large as Great Britain. The Dutch had a fortified port in it, but were expelled by the natives, who are idolaters. The French took possession of the same port, and built a fort on the foundations of that which had been built by the Dutch. Vincentio di Paulo founded a mission there by the consent of the congregation, and sent eight missionaries, who converted 5000 people in a short time; but now the French have also been expelled from thence, and the fathers of the mission are resolved to forsake it, not being able to live there any longer.

In the year 1630, the See of Rome had an account of the conversion of the emperor of Monomotapa, made by father Aloyso dello Spirito Santo, a Dominican, who desired the congregation to send missionaries to his assistance; whereupon a letter concerning the choice of some religious persons was sent to Portugal, and in the year 1632, ten missionaries set out from thence by the king's order for Monomotapa, from which time we have had no further information concerning them.

Such is the present state of Christianity in Africa, according to M. Cerri; the Mahometans inhabit towards the Mediterranean sea, from the bottom of it, to the streights of Gibraltar; but the greater part of that quarter of the world is possessed by Pagan infidels and schismatics; that is, the church of Abyssinia, (of whom we have discoursed in the former chapter) in many things purer

purser than the church of Rome. After all, it appears to me, that Popery has got little footing in Africa, except in some places possessed by the Spanish and Portuguese, especially in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola^p. But I go now to

America, otherwise called the West-Indies. It is a new world of large extent, a great part of it belongs to the Spaniards and Portuguese: the French, English and Dutch have also a considerable share. There is in that new world several bishoprics, universities, convents and missions; but if we take a nearer survey of it, the popish religion has made a very small progress there. I do not mean in the provinces subject to popish princes, but in the vast number, says M. Cerri, possessed by English and Dutch heretics^q.

Christopher Columbus, as before observed^r, began to take possession of the West Indies, in the name of the king of Castile, which occasioned several disputes between that prince, and John the Second king, of Portugal. Pope Alexander VI, to whom that great contest was referred, divided the world in such a manner, that excepting those provinces already possessed by Christians, the eastern parts should belong to the crown of Portugal, and the western to Castile.

Leaving Mons. Cerri a little, allow me to observe, that the Pope here divides what is not his own, nor at his disposal. Who gave him a power to grant it to whom he will? To argue from this, among Protestants is ridiculous, and among Papists themselves is precarious. Besides, the Indians were committed to the Spaniards, on condition,

^p Dapper de l'Afrique. ^q Cerri's account of the Catholic religion, page 148. ^r See page

dition, "the latter should teach the former the knowledge of the Christian religion," as is proved by Don Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, in his account of the first discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, and relation of their unparalleled cruelties^f; where he likewise owns, "That by acquitting themselves so ill of that commission, they ought to make restitution of all that they have taken from the Indians under that pretext:" and he charges them^g with breach of terms prescribed by the apostolical brief, though King Ferdinand, and Queen Isabella, to whom it was granted, earnestly desired them, by their last will, to keep exactly to it. He pleads, that the title of the king of Spain to the Indies, is founded only upon the obligation he had taken to instruct them in the true faith, as appears by the apostolical brief^h; which the Spaniards were so far from performing, that instead of converting their souls, they destroyed their bodies, having even in those days, viz. in the reign of the emperor Charles V. murdered above forty millions of them; and took so little care to instruct them in Christianity, that they perfectly obstructed their conversion, and sold those very idols the poor people had thrown away with abhorrence, to others of the Indiansⁱ; which, together with their horrid impieties and cruelties, created an aversion in these poor infidels at heaven itself, according to the known story of Hathney an Indian prince^j, who being fastened to a stake by the Spaniards, in order to be burnt, for no other crime but defend-

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^f Bishop of Chiapa's Spanish discoveries and Cruelties, pag. 195. ^g Ibid. pag. 100. ^h Ibidem. pag. 218. ⁱ Ibidem pag. 194. ^j Ibidem. pag. 21.

ing himself and his subjects against their cruelties, asked a friar, who was discoursing him of heaven, and promising him happiness, if he did believe, and threatening him with hell if he did not, "if heaven was open to the Spaniards?" And being answered, "It was, to such of them as were good;" he replied immediately, "He would not go there, for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked company, but would much rather chuse to go to hell, where he might be delivered from the troublesome sight of such kind of people."

To return to M. Cerri; Spain pretends, that their king is the apostolical delegate, and supreme director of the ecclesiastical hierachy in this New World. I shall take notice of these provinces where there are, or have been popish missions for propagating Christianity, and converting infidels. To begin with Peru, Lima is now the chief city in that part of the world. It is the residence of the Spanish viceroys, and an archiepiscopal see. Excepting some towns possessed by the Spaniards, the bulk of Peru is inhabited by infidels, who worship the sun, the moon, stars, or trees. They are full of superstition and witchcraft, conversing with the devil; and a great many, after they have been baptized, relapse into their old errors. They are very lustful, conversing with both sexes, regarding no consanguinity, and even sin with all sorts of animals. The missionaries, says our author, take more pains to root out the vices of their new converts, than to confirm them in the Catholic faith. Father Paul di Roas, an Augustine, spent above forty years in his ministry among them, even in remote countries and provinces. There have been several missions of Dominicans, Augus-
tines,

tines, and Minor Observantines sent them, among whom, Francis Solano made the greatest progress.

The people who dwell upon the river of the Amazons, were discovered in the year 1638, by a Jesuit, who published a relation of that country in Spanish. They worship idols, which they keep in their houses, and implore their assistance in fishing, and seed time, and war. Many missions have been sent thither at several times, as of the Capuchins of Valencia, the Minor Observantines, the monks of St. Anthony of Portugal, and the Dominicans; but we do not know what they do, or have done.

The Spaniards, who first conquered America, called the adjacent isles, *Isolas Antillas*; the French call them *Antillas* or *Caribes*, from a barbarous nation who live there. Some of these islands belong to England, others to the Dutch, and others to the king of France. Father Bretton, a French Dominican, who lived many years among them, composed a grammar, a dictionary, and a catechism, in their language, which may be a help to their conversion. Where the French prevail, as at St. Christopher's, Caienne, Martinico, and Guadaloupe, the popish religion is promoted; and the Dominicans perform the mission. Where the Dutch and English prevail, the Protestant religion is advanced. But, alas! the infidelity of the natives, and of the negro slaves remains; they are wild and barbarous, and too little care is taken of their instruction.

Brazil is a vast country, formerly described*; it was discovered by the Portuguese, who, finding

* See page 169.

ing it very fruitful, tho' uncultivated; by reason of the barbarousness of the inhabitants, they made themselves masters of it, building forts near the shore, and settling colonies; by which the barbarous natives being soon civilized, did betake themselves to plough the ground, and trade, especially in sugar, of which there is great plenty in that country. The Portuguese remained in quiet possession of it, as long as they had kings of their own; but when the crown of Portugal came into the hands of Philip II. king of Spain, the Dutch being at war with him, and invited by the Jews in Brazil, easily conquered that country, and granted liberty to all religions. In process of time, the Dutch government growing too severe, the greater part of Brasil revolted, under the conduct of John Fernandez, and Antonio Cavalcanti, who having got together 50,000 men, took all the strong places, except Recife, and expelled the Dutch; who, though they sent a fresh fleet thither, yet were not able to recover what they had lost. An archbishop is there; the French Capuchins of Bretagne manage the mission, the Dutch are expelled even out of Recife, and Pernambuco; the Papists pretend they instruct the natives and negro slaves, though I fear very little is done that way.

The provinces of Rio de Gennaro, situated in the western and southern parts of Brasil, toward the river de la Plata, were divided from the diocese of the Bay of All-Saints, by Gregory XIII. in the year 1675, and an administrator erected there, with episcopal jurisdiction. But says, M. Cerri*,

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* Account of the Catholic religion, pag. 160.

"God knows how he behaves, other bishops are at a distance."

The provinces of Rio de la Plata, or Paraguay, situate between Brasil and Peru, to the south, are plentiful regions, and contain several good cities, with Spanish colonies, viz. the Assumption, Ciudad Real, and Sancta Cruz de la Sierra, the seat of the bishop de la Plata, of the governor, and other officers.

The kingdom of Chili has a very long coast upon the South sea, with a ridge of mountains to the east, like the Alps in Europe; it is a populous and plentiful country, and has some gold and silver mines. Their chief town is St. Jago, a Spanish colony, where is an episcopal see, and abundance of Dominicans, Franciscans, and fathers de la Mercede.

The Patagons live on the confines of Chili, towards the straits of Magellan, and have never been subdued, nor did any body venture to penetrate into their country.

The streights of Magellan are so dangerous, by reason of their length, narrowness, and storms frequent in these parts, that they are not now so much frequented, as another streight more commodious, and shorter, towards the north, discovered by one le Mair, whose name it bears.

The Jesuits, who were in Brasil and Peru, in the year 1580, began to extend their missions into the inland provinces, and father Alfonso Parsena, baptized in less than ten years, above 25,000 barbarians^b; and F. Emanuel Ortega, a greater number in the provinces of Paraguay and Guairá (it

was

^b Urbano Cerri's account of Cath. Relig. pag. 162.—

was easier to give them a name, than to instruct and make them good Christians) being encouraged by this progress, they penetrated as far as Chili, in the year 1593. And my author says, they converted many nations. In 1607, they founded the mission of Paraguay, 150 leagues in length, and added to it Chili and Tucuman, with a design to subject that country, not only to Christ, but also to the king of Spain, persuading the Barbarians to live together, that they might be the better instructed. In 1675, the fathers, who remained in Tucuman, ran over a great many unknown places, and having erected there above eighty churches, made these barbarians more sociable, and, in a great measure, conformable to the rites of the Roman church.

The new kingdom of Granada is subject to Spain; it contains the prefectures of St. Martha, Nuova Cartagena, and part of Popajan. It is a plain country, full of good pastures, abounding with cattle, and has some gold mines. The inhabitants are active and trading; the chief town is Santa Fe di Bigotta, a metropolitan see, where are some convents of Dominicans and Franciscans. The province bordering on New Carthagenia, is inhabited by Heathens, dispersed in cottages; each nobleman has many concubines: they offer no sacrifices, but practise divination, and converse familiarly with the devil, who answers their petitions: they have no notion of rewards or punishments after this life. Father Alfonso de la Croce, a bare-footed Augustine, converted, says M. Cerri, 8000 of the Heathens to the Christian faith. In the year 1629, twelve religious of that order, were sent to that country; that father was

made their superior, and his power extended to adjacent provinces. This mission was confirmed for twelve other religious, in 1639.

Terra Firma, properly so called, lies in the middle of America; the air is unwholesome, by reason of marshes, and the soil barren. Panama is the chief city where the king's officers reside, who govern also Veragua, where are gold mines. A mission of the Capuchins of Castile was founded at Darien, in 1646, and confirmed in 1649, and then dismissed; because, though they began with zeal, yet they had no great success.

Venezuela is so called, because the chief city is built in a marshy place, like Venice; it is a fruitful country, and contains gold mines. The Capuchins of Arragon, performed the mission there, under direction of father Francis de Pampeluna, and went to Andaluzia, near the famous river Oronoque, where are plentiful salt mines; and to other provinces, where they made great progress. Five princes of those provinces embraced the Christian religion, and by letters paid obedience to Clement IX. which were delivered by Joseph de Caravantes. The mission was continued in 1667. Before the Capuchins introduced the Christian faith to those countries, the inhabitants went naked, and lived in profound ignorance of all things; only they feared the devil, believing he could preserve or take away their lives. Polygamy prevails among them. The ministers of the devil lay many snares in the way of the missionaries; by them father Augustine Villabana was killed in the year 1666.

In North America, New France, called also Canada, is a vast country; though it be situated in
the

temperate zone, the summer is extremely hot, and the winter very cold. It was discovered by the French, in 1504. It is full of mountains and solitudes, inhabited by savage Heathens: they believe the immortality of the soul, the existence of good and bad angels: they invoke the devil, to whom they sacrifice dogs, and even men, whom they eat, as it happened in 1624, to John de Venezano, a Florentine captain, in the service of the king of France, and his companions. In 1632, the French king sent to that country a viceroy, with some officers and ships, who carried along with him several Recollects, Capuchins, and Jesuits, to propagate the Christian faith, which a great many of the natives embraced, especially in the country of the Hurons, where the Jesuits made great progress. But the Hurons being destroyed by the Iroquois their enemies, many of the fathers were martyred. An apostolical Vicar was sent there, in 1658, and afterward a bishopric erected at Quebec, on the river of St Laurence. There are many churches in Canada, served by abundance of priests, and in all places possessed by the French, a free exercise of the Christian religion is allowed.

As to the success of true Christianity by English Protestants in New England and Virginia, I shall discourse of it afterwards in the same chapter. The popish missions spoke of by M. Cerri, do them little harm.

California is called by M. Cerri a great island in the South-sea; but it is since discovered to be a part of the continent*: the king of Spain sent thither three ships, in the year 1611, with expert men, and three Carmelites, who baptized many

inhabitants ; at present it is not known what missionaries are there.

In the year 1596, twelve minor friars entered New Mexico, with many soldiers, under the conduct of John d'Ognati ; about thirty convents have been founded in that country. In 1631, at the solicitation of the Dominicans of the province of Mexico, the provincial was impowered to send thither thirty religious, for the conversion of the Heathens in those parts, and to assist the Franciscans, who, according to the relations of that year, had converted five hundred thousand Heathens, as M. Cerri says, whereof eighty-six thousand had been baptized, and the others catechised : three of these religious were put to death, for the Catholic faith, in 1634, in that part of the country, which had not been subdued by the Spaniards.

The great kingdom of Mexico, or New Spain, does not yield to any other of the New World. It affords plentifully every thing necessary for life, except wine and oil ; it has some gold mines, but those of silver are larger, and chiefly out of them silver is brought to Spain, the mines of Potosi being destroyed. The isles of Hispaniola and Cuba go by the name of Mexico ; there are two bishops in these islands, and some convents. It cannot be denied, that the great empire of Mexico was subdued by the Spaniards, with great bloodshed, some hundred thousand of the natives being killed, after they submitted to the Spanish yoke. The people of Mexico were given to drunkenness and other vices ; yea, they sacrificed men, and especially young people, to their idols. At first, the sun was their only God ; in process of time, they set up other

other deities; and worshipped trees, mountains, rivers, fountains, stones, bears, lions, tygers, and serpents. They were conquered by the Spaniards, under the conduct of Ferdinand Cortez, who carried with him minor friars, to promote their conversion. These monks are very numerous in Mexico, where they have many convents and parishes, and a great many of other religious orders are with them. The congregation obtained of the holy see leave to send bishops to these dioceses; but when they are sent, they quite forget the apostolical see, and the congregation de Propaganda Fide, and never give any account of their dioceses, where there is still a great number of infidels.

Thus I have given a large account of the industry of the church of Rome, for propagating religion among the Heathens, from their own writers. I have been perhaps too long with Monseignior Cerri; now I have done with him: but I hope the reader will be satisfied, that at once he has a view of the endeavours of papists over the world, for propagating religion among the Heathens; what they have done in some particular places for this end, shall be soon considered.

Only I wish the remark that Mr. Dampier has of these proselytes, be not too true. He, when speaking of the converts made by popish missionaries in Siam and Tonquin in the East Indies, says^d, "As to the converts these people have made, I have been credibly informed, that they are chiefly of the poor people; that in scarce times,

P 3

their

^d Dampier's Voyages, vol. 2. pag 96. printed 1703.

their alms of rice have converted more than their preaching: and as for those who have been converted, as they call it, that is, to beads, new images, and belief of the pope, they have fallen off again, as the rice grew plentiful; and would be no longer Christians, than while the priests administered food to them. Yet I cannot think, but that these people, who have such notions of a supreme Deity, might, by the industry and example of good men, be brought to embrace the Christian faith: but as things stand at present, 'tis very improbable, that Christianity should fructify there; for as the English and Dutch in those parts of the world, are too loose livers, to gain reputation to religion, so the other Europeans, I mean their missionary priests, are but very blind teachers."

Joseph Acosta, a Jesuit, born at Medina del Campo, in the kingdom of Leon, when he had taught a long time in Spain was sent into the Indies, where he was provincial of Peru, and spent seventeen years in converting the Infidels. After his return to Spain, in the year 1586, he was made rector of the college of Salamanca, and wrote his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Though that book be now old, yet in my humble opinion 'tis still valuable; beside his Natural History, the curious may find there a pretty full account of the abominable idolatry of Mexico and Peru, in the fifth book; and of the government and history of these countries, in the sixth and seventh books. The same author wrote another treatise in Latin, *de Procuranda Indorum Salute*; but this is not a history of what is past, but his opinion concerning what is proper to be done, for promoting the conversion of those infidels.

Some

Some of his advices may be considered in the following chapter, and therefore I now leave them.

If we look into what popish missionaries have been doing in other parts of the world, as before promised, we may observe, that though the Portuguese and Spaniards were the first nations in Europe, from the fifteenth century and downward, who sent missionaries into foreign parts, to convert the Heathen, which their great acquisitions in those places gave them occasion to do: yet, in the last age, and particularly, since the year 1658, there have been many missions from France, upon the same errand. Lewis XIV. thought it his honour and interest to support and encourage them.

Father Lewis Hennepin, a Franciscan, was one of these French missionaries, who in the year 1678, went with Mons. de la Val, afterward bishop of Quebec, to the French plantations in America. He wrote an account of his travels, under this title, *A new Discovery of a large Country in North America, &c.* as before observed^e, where he advanceth some things concerning the propagation of Christianity in Canada, which I shall now take notice of. He boasts of the Franciscans, as having done more for propagating Christianity in foreign parts, than the Jesuits. Indeed every one of the popish orders labour to raise trophies to their own praises. But after all, Mons. Hennepin seems to speak little of any success in making Christians of the natives in North America: for he frankly owns the following obstacles, in the conversion of those savages; as^f, First, “The indifference

^e Above p. 155. ^f Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages, vol. 2. p. 214—

difference they have to every thing: when we speak to them, says he, of the creation of the world, or of the mysteries of the Christian religion, they applaud all we say, but they never trouble themselves about it." A second obstacle is, "That every nation has a peculiar language, and these tongues have little affinity one with another; so that some of them who live not ten leagues asunder, must use an interpreter to talk together. Thirdly, They are not fixed to a place, tarrying no longer in the villages, than till harvest is over, which is but a small time; all the rest of the year they pass in wars and hunting: then they carry all their families with them, and are absent eight or nine months; their children then forget all, and return to their former manner of living. Fourthly, Another obstacle is, the deceitful dealing of Christian merchants, who never scruple at cheating or lying, to get the furs of the savages cheap. This, without doubt, causes an aversion from a religion, which they see accompanied, by the professors of it, with so many artifices and cheats. Fifthly, Another obstacle to their conversion is, that most of them have several wives, which, in the northern parts, they change, as often as they please, and cannot conceive, how people can tie themselves indissolubly to one person. The last obstacle proceeds from their great superstition." By these things we see how little success the French had, or hoped to have, in turning these natives to Christianity.

We have a larger and later account of French missionaries sent to propagate Christianity among the Heathens, in the *Jesuits Letters*, printed at Paris,

Paris, in ten volumes, the first of them in the year 1707, and the last in 1717, which having come lately to my hand, by the favour of a friend, I shall make only a few remarks from them. These letters contain some improvements in geography, and large narratives of the voyages, sea-hazards, and dangers of the missionaries, with some account of the manners and customs of the people among whom they travelled, which I am not concerned to repeat; nor do I find so much concerning the propagation of Christianity in them, as I expected. It is observable, that none of these missionaries ever put the sacred scriptures of the Old and New Testaments into the hands of their pretended profelytes, nor gave them any methodical instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, which is absolutely necessary in order to make strangers and Heathens good Christians; and which has been done by others who laboured in that work in former ages, and also in later times, as by Mr. Eliot, and others, in New England; and by the Danish missionaries in Malabar, of whom afterward. There is indeed an account of great numbers baptized by the Jesuits; as, that father Bouchet, in the mission of Madure, baptized twenty thousand persons[†]. If this be fact, I know not; but to baptize those, or the like numbers, mostly of adult persons, without previous instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, is a preposterous method: they know no more of Christianity than Heathens, and upon the first temptation, will be ready to apostatize to their old errors.

The

[†] Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, par Missionnaires de la Campagne de Jesus, Recueil 1 p. 57.

The greater part of this collection consists of letters from the Jesuits, who are missionaries to China, of which I do not pretend to give a particular detail, there being as much concerning missions to that country in the sequel of this chapter, as may suffice; and we may be sure, the Jesuits will always give a favourable account of their own affairs. Thus, father Premare, in his letter from Canton, of the 17th of February, 1699, says^b, “The present emperor is most favourable to the Christian religion; he says, it is the true law, and is pleased to know that any of his lords embrace it; and hopes the time is approaching, that God will give him grace to entertain it.” Thus father Noël, in the year 1703, representsⁱ, “That in the province of Nankin, they have more than one hundred churches, and one hundred thousand Christians.” In the ninth volume, there is a letter from father Jartoux, dated at Pekin, the 20th of August, 1704, giving an account of a noble church the Jesuits had got built in that city, within the precincts of the emperor’s palace. In the tenth volume, we have a Chinese inscription, by the emperor’s direction, to be engraven on that new temple, and an explication of it in French. In the beginning of the seventh volume, we have a pretty curious letter of father Jean Paul Gozani, to Joseph Suarez, Jesuit, translated from Portuguese. The letter bears date at Cai-fum-fou, the capital of the province of Honan in China, November 5th, 1704, where he makes a discovery of a synagogue of Jews in that place; but the criticisms of this Jesuit are not to be depended upon, since

^a Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 2. pag. 105, 106.

^b Ibid. Recuil 6. p. 71.

since he acknowledges he had no skill in the Hebrew tongue^k.

We have in these letters an affecting discourse concerning one father Jean de Brito, who having converted the Prince Teriadeven, and persuaded him to to abandon all his wives save one, which he did, though he had five wives, and a great number of concubines, one of which abandoned wives was niece to Ranganadadeven, sovereign prince of Maravas; she, with some of the Bramins, made earnest application against the missionaries, and especially against father Brito, who was taken and put to death, and a persecution raised against the Christians, in that country in the year 1693^l. We have another narrative of a persecution raised against the missionaries and their profelytes in Cochin-China in the year 1700^m, and about the same time another persecution commenced against them in Tanjoarⁿ. The missionaries, both there and in other places, write frequently and very pressingly for money to be remitted from Europe for their support. I confess, charity cannot be better employed, than for propagating Christianity, and supporting it among infidels; though I believe, Protestants will not be free to trust Jesuits with managing their charitable collections, lest they employ them to wrong purposes.

The English edition of the Jesuits letters in 1714, contains but a very few of them. I have sometimes from it, and sometimes from the French copy, given some other hints concerning things that

^k Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus. Recueil 7. pag. 4. ^l Ibidem. Recueil 2. Lettre 1. ^m Ibidem. Recueil 1. pag. 78, & seq. ⁿ Ibidem. Recueil 3. pag. 212, & seq.

that offered in this and in the foregoing chapter, which I shall not here repeat. There is in this collection some very minute things, as the sea dangers, and dreadful tempest of the ship *Amphitrite*, having missionaries aboard, written over and over again by different hands°. There are also in this collection several letters from the Jesuits in the missions of *Madure*, *Aour*, *Tanjaor*, and *Carnate*, places situate in the great peninsula of the Indies, on this side the river *Ganges*; and also a few letters from their missions in some parts of the Spanish and French conquests in America: but no account of any missions to any part of Africa, except one in the fourth volume to *Ethiopia*, which did nothing to promote the Romish religion, as has been already observed^p. It seems the Jesuits think Africa too poor a soil for their missionaries; they like China better, where they may walk in their silks, be carried abroad in a *Palanquin*, and honoured as the emperor's mathematicians. This is all I shall observe from this collection in ten volumes; they who are at leisure, may divert themselves with many more particulars, as the life and death of father *Verjus*, a Jesuit, in volume eighth; a mission to the Greek church in the isles of the Archipelago, in volume tenth. But these not being to my present purpose, and lest this book should swell beyond my design, I pass them.

Thus we see, that though the Spaniards and Portuguese were the first who sent missions abroad to convert the Heathen, and do still pretend a sole right to it by the bull of Pope Alexander VI. yet

° *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses par Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus, Recueil 3, 8. P See pag 140.*

yet the French have followed their example. Why should any nation in Europe be secluded from so good a work, which needs so many hands to advance it? Only 'tis to be wished, that they who are employed in it, may be free from profaneness, superstition, and idolatry, that they may not obstruct so good a work; and that while they persuade the Heathen to abandon Paganism, they do not debauch them with a blind devotion to popish idols, without any solid knowledge of the principles, or a practice conformable to the precepts of Christianity. But to go on with our history.

Among all the popish missions, those of the Jesuits in China have made the greatest noise in the world, and many authors have written concerning them; some of which I have seen, and from them shall give a short account of these matters, so far as they concern the subject I am upon.

Among the first accounts of the missionaries sent by the church of Rome into China, is that of father Ricci, the full title is at the foot of the page^a. There we have a large narrative of the state of the country, and of the methods the missionaries took to promote religion, of the hardships they endured, and their success. But Le Comte's memoirs being much later, I shall, to introduce this story, trace his footsteps a little.

Louis le Comte, a Jesuit, has given us curious memoirs and observations concerning China, in several letters published in French, and translated into English in 1698. The prefacer observes, that the Jesuits have adapted the systems of religion which

^a De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas, suscepta a Societate Jesu, ex L. Matthæi Ricci, ejusdem Societatis MSS, lib. 5. Autore L. Nicolao Trigaulto Belga, ex eadem Societate. Colonia: 1617.

which they teach to the Chinese according to the philosophy of Confucius, seldom teaching of Christ's crucifixion; yea, allowing them to worship their Pagods. Le Comte himself arrived at Pekin in China, Feb. 8th, 1687, and staid in that kingdom several years. It is not my design to give a detail of his book, where he tell us, how he and other missionaries were received, of the houses, cities, and chief buildings of the Chinese; that at Nankin there be two millions of people, twice as many as at Paris. He also discourses of the soil, canals, rivers, and fruits of the country; of the magnificence, temper, wit, policy, and government of the people. But chiefly I shall observe what he remarks concerning the missionaries endeavours to propagate Christianity, with a few other things introductive thereto.

In his third letter he observes, the temples that the Chinese have for their idols are very fine and rich, but the missionaries durst not look at them for fear of offending the Christians. They have an observatory in China, with mathematical instruments. Father Verbiest, a missionary, had caused the old instruments to be pulled down, which yet we saw, says Le Comte, and put up new ones of a better contrivance, as Spheres, Quadrants, Azimuths, &c. The Chinese boast of 4000 years observations, but when the missionaries came into these parts, they could neither make a calendar, nor calculate eclipses, nor knew the cause of them; but when they saw an eclipse, said it was a great dragon going to swallow up the sun or moon, and with panic fear, did fall to idolatrous worship. Father Ferdinando Verbiest, a Fleming, was surveyor of the mathematicians,

and

and gave directions for framing brass guns. The emperor of China, and the court looked on him as one of the wisest men of his age, and often conversed with him about religion and learning; he obtained a toleration for evangelic pastors, says our author, after they had been persecuted. He was indefatigable in religious affairs, and had taken care to settle our religion in the eastern parts of Tartary, in the remote places of China, and in the kingdom of Kiovia, so as nothing but his death could have hindered it. The emperor and Mandarins at court wrote of his praises; his burial was sumptuous, sprinkled with holy water, and perfumed with incense.

In his fifth letter he says, the Chinese are so ancient, that it fares with them as with rivers whose source cannot be discovered. Their vulgar history is certainly false, for it computes 40000 years since the creation of the world, yet none of them dare question it: however the learned do not debate, but they might have had kings for about 4000 years. There have been twenty-two different families of their princes, which have produced 236 emperors. The grand-children of Noah might penetrate even to this kingdom. Fohi first laid the foundation of their monarchy, and it was enlarged by policy and prudence rather than by force. They look on themselves as better than other men, saying, "The Chinese see with two eyes, others are blind;" but now, when they perceive the skill of the Europeans in clocks, watches, stuffs, mathematics, instruments of war, and the like, they grant the Europeans are not so barbarous as they apprehended, "They see with one eye." We need not wonder at this, since before navigation

navigation opened a way for people from Europe to come among them, they had seen no body but rude Tartars and Indians. Their paint is better than ours, they wear silk, linen, cotton, and cotton-linen: their chief magnificence is in cabinets, tables, and varnished skreens, but have no looking-glasses, tapestry-hangings, nor wrought chairs; but abundance of Porcelain, or China ware. When their great men go abroad, they are carried in a sedan, or Palanquin, or upon officers shoulders, with Umbrellas, and other marks of dignity, escutcheons and titles of honour carried before them. When they go by water, they use large magnificent barges. When their emperors appear abroad, which is seldom, they come with innumerable marks of respect and honour. Their government is wholly monarchical, and knows nothing of the republic; yet their laws oblige their king to use his power with discretion. He has a great number of forces, even in peace he may have 500,000 men, armed with scymitars and darts.

Le Comte, in his seventh letter, insists on the language, characters, and books of the Chinese. Their language has no affinity to any other, neither in sound nor pronunciation: their words may be learned in a few hours, but it will take several years for a man to be able to speak their dialect. A doctor may be able to compose a book in it, and yet not to discourse therein. They frame variety of significations to words and sentences only by accent and tone, so as their language is a kind of music and harmony. Missionaries had better have laboured some time in the mines, says my author, than in learning it; for it exercises not
only

only the memory, but also the imagination and ear. If you have not the right tone, you may call a man a Beast when you would say Sir, the same word being common to both. They do not speak as they write; in writing they use lively expressions, bold metaphors, succinct comparisons, and and many sentences from the ancients. At the beginning of their monarchy they used hieroglyphics, and painted rather than wrote. They have 24000 letters, which many of themselves know not. Instead of a pen they use a pencil, and write very fair; a letter ill cut is a great fault, and mars the sense. Printing is of great antiquity in China, they engrave their letters on wooden boards; their paper is of the inner rind of the Bamboe tree, they pass Allom on it, which makes it shine, yet it is not lasting, but subject to fretting: their binding is nice and curious.

As to their books, the first, says Le Comte, is the five books of Moses, of which the Chinese have very ancient copies. Their king Hoamti composed treatises of astronomy, arithmetic, and medicine. About 300 years after this, they made a collection of the ordinances and history of king Yao; several additions were made to it 1776 years before Christ. Their third book is a series of odes and poems, composed under the third race of their kings. The fourth contains a history of several princes, their virtues and vices. The fifth treats of customs and ceremonies. Of all these they have libraries, but most of them were destroyed by the tyrannical order of one of their emperors, 200 years before Christ: but the next age learned them from preserved copies, and their memories, and so restored most of them: but

these new editions have many blemishes. Their principal author is Confucius, who, according to Le Comte, was born 483 years before Christ; he was a pregnant wit, and a great doctor. He said, "He was in the west, where the true Saint was to be found." From this, and dreams of one of their emperors concerning Christ, they had some enquiries about our Saviour, but got then no knowledge of him. Confucius's death was much lamented, and his memory is to this day very favourable. Tho' the Chinese be conceited of their learning, yet they have no skill in logic, geometry, medicine, nor in several other sciences; but 'tis certain, that they had the use of gunpowder, printing, guns, and the mariner's compass; yea, had tall ships and able sailors, long before the Europeans^f.

I discoursed a little in the former chapter concerning the heathenish idolatry and superstition of the Chinese. I now proceed, from Le Comte's eleventh letter, directed to Mons. Rouille counsellor of state, and some following letters, to give account of the establishment and progress of the Christian religion in China. The emperor, among other things, objected to the missionaries, "If your religion be the only way of salvation, how comes China to have been ignorant of it these 1600 years?" In answer to this they alledged, that the gospel had been first preached to the Indians, of whom the Chinese are the chief, by St. Thomas, and that by his preaching, the offers of the kingdom of heaven had been brought to China. Which he endeavours to prove^g from
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^f Le Comte's *Memoirs of China*, p. 129 letter-8. *memoirs*, p. 342.

^g Le Comte's

ancient breviary in the church of Malabar, writ in Chaldee, and used in the office of St. Thomas. Le Comte tells another story, that in the seventh century, a catholic patriarch in the Indies sent missionaries to China with good success, for which he alledges a marble monument, digged up near Sigan in the year 1625, ten feet long and six broad; on the top of it a large cross, and below a long discourse in Chinese and Syriac characters. The emperor ordered the monument to be kept in a pagod or idol temple. The inscription lays down a short sum of the Christian religion, and then adds, "In the reign of Taicoum, a wise and honoured prince, Olopomen coming from India, after long travel by sea and land, at last arrived in China in the year 636. The emperor conducted him to the palace, and encouraged him: Koo the son of Taicoum endeavoured to make that religion flourish which his father had received, he built churches, but the Bonzes raised a persecution; yet some persons of extraordinary zeal defended it. A succeeding emperor, in the year 757, erected five churches; the following emperors confirmed Christianity by their example and edicts, and others exercised works of great charity. To keep up the memory of these great actions, and to let posterity know the present state of the Christian religion here, we have erected this monument in the year of our Lord 782." The Bonzes set up another pillar over against it, to diminish the glory of the Christian religion; but when the Jesuit missionaries came into the country, they found no sign nor footstep thereof.

In the year 1552, St. Xavier, as Le Comte calls him, came into China, in hopes to add that em-

pire to the kingdom of Christ; but he died, when his labours seemed to have probability of success. Le Comte compares his burial (in my opinion foolishly) to that of Moses, and yet says, a Portuguese vessel found in his monument in the year 1686, in the isle of Samian, which others call Sancyon, with this inscription, "Here Xavier, a man truly apostolical, was buried." Three Italians assisted Xavier, viz. Roger, Pasio, and Ricci. The novelty of their doctrine brought them auditors, and the sanctity of their lives made the people, says my author, in love with them. Father Ricci had studied long the Chinese language and customs at Macao, he spoke it fluently, and wrote pleasantly. These missionaries had the superstition and jealousy of the Bonzes, the people's humours, and the power of the Mandarins to deal with, yet they persevered. Ricci had very great success; some of the Mandarins opened their eyes to the gospel; the emperor Vanli received them with great respect, he bought a house at Pekin, and gained such a foundation there, as has since been the support of all the missions to that empire. Court and country resounded the glorious name of Jehovah; but the Bonzes stirred up a persecution. The Portuguese of Macao, incensed against the Jesuits, resolved to destroy them in China, saying, "That by the assistance of the Japanese and Hollanders, the Christians resolved to seize their country. Upon this father Martinez was taken, imprisoned, and bastinadoed, till at length he died. A Mandarin, who was a friend to father Ricci, stopped the accusation from going to court against him, and he died in peace, pressing by letters to Europe, that more missionaries

aries might be sent. The Christians in China were shaken by his fall. A tempest arose against them in the year 1615. Chinkin, one of the Mandarins in the city of Nankin, set upon the pastors, some were beaten, others banished, almost all who remained imprisoned. This storm lasted six years; at last their persecutor is accused, and deprived of his office and life. About this time the Dominicans, says my author, joined us, particularly Adam Shaal, a German, a person well skilled in the mathematics, by which he gained the emperor's favour. Christianity suffered a shock by the inundation of the Tartars; yet father Shaal got favour with these Barbarians, and some persons of the best quality were baptized. Faber, a Frenchman, laboured successfully: a plague of locusts prevailing in the country, he promised, "If the people would submit to Christianity, they should be free of the locusts: the father went to the highway in his surplice, sprinkling holy water, and using prayers, and, says Le Comte, the plague ceased. The people relapsed into heathenism, but upon their confession, he performed the miracle a second time. Christianity was settled at Hamchun, and flourished at Peking, where the emperor did not seem far from it, making several visits to father Shaal, but a concubine turned away that prince's heart to idols; he and his concubine died soon after. The four Mandarins who governed during the emperor's minority, imprisoned the missionaries, and brought religion in China, within a hair's-breadth of destruction. The young emperor favoured the Christians: father Verbiest had great interest at court, being president of the mathematics. The emperor caused

to be built a mausoleum for the deceased father Adam Shaal, adorned with marble figures. Some of the order of St. Francis and St. Augustine entered on the work of propagating Christianity in that kingdom. Upon the rebellion of Oufangney, the emperor employed father Verbieft to direct the making of great brass guns, light for carriage, which he with some ceremony ordered to be done, and this procured him the esteem of that prince. The bishop of Heliopolis, with some other ecclesiastics, set sail for China, but were put into Mexico, and returned to France; yet after some time they proceeded in their voyage, and arrived at China, to perform their mission, where the bishop soon died. Mons. Argolis, an Italian, had the title of Vicar Apostolical for that country from the pope. Mons. Maigrot and Mons. Pin had the same dignity. The king of France sent Le Comte, our author, and his three companions thither; yet still they want more missionaries for so large an empire.

Our author, in his letter to father de la Chaife, speaks of the manner how missionaries preach the gospel in China. He says, "that father Gerbillion helped to transact the peace with the Muscovites; that the fathers Fontenay, Videlau, and himself took care of the churches in Nankin and Xenfi; they took care to confirm old converts, and gain new ones, and left some books with them." Here allow me to remark, that these missionaries never gave their converts a copy of the Bible in the Chinese language. Le Comte seems not fond of it^{*}; and one may easily observe among

^{*} Le Comte's *Memoirs of China*, p. 384, 385.

among all the popish missionaries through the world, though they boast of great numbers of people they baptize and convert, yet they never say their profelytes had read the holy scriptures, or understood these sacred writings; nor does it agree to the principles of their church to allow the use of that book to the vulgar. "Now, without this, how can a stranger understand the principles of Christianity?" No wonder these people relapse into Infidelity, when they never knew the foundation of the Christian religion, nor were ever right instructed in the faith. We may hear more of the detestable ways of the Jesuits in China afterward. Mean time to return to Le Comte, he says, "the Chinese are affectionate, and like things magnificent, as processions, ringing of bells, medals, reliques, crosses, &c. the women have churches distinct from the men." I cannot easily reconcile this with what I read in the *Jesuits Travels*, where it is said, "The Chinese ladies never go out of their houses, nor receive visits from men; and therefore the missionaries cannot instruct them." But to proceed, Le Comte adds, the missionaries have but small subsistence, and are exposed to hardships in their travels; they have above two hundred churches and chapels dedicated to the true God; Pekin, Nankin, and Macao have each a particular bishop, by nomination of the king of Portugal: but what signifies a few labourers in so large a vineyard? In his letter to cardinal Jansen, we have an account of the Mandarins persecuting the Christians, upon a decree published in China in the year of our Lord

Lord 1669, "prohibiting them to build any churches, or teach in public or private the European law, or administer baptism to the Chinese, or distribute medals, chaplets, crucifixes, or the like." Nevertheless, the missionaries ventured, having a connivance at Peking, under the emperor's nose: but the decree being still in force, the viceroy prohibited the exercise of the Christian religion, August 1691. Father Gerbillon procured a letter from prince Sofan, to the viceroy, in favour of the Christians: but this did not stop the persecution at Hamcheou, where a zealous Christian physician was almost put to death, and others suffered great hardships. The fathers at court addressed the emperor, who favoured them, and drew their petition; but the court of rites rejected it, which drew them into great grief: yet the emperor, on the intercession of Prince Sofan, wrote a letter in their favour, to the Mandarins; which procured them some liberty for the exercise of their religion in China, in the year 1692. So far from Le Comte's memoirs.

In father Avril's Travels, done into English, and printed in the year 1713, I find, that father Verbieft having desired more missionaries to be sent over land, through Tartary to China, because of six hundred, who had taken shipping for that country, scarce one hundred arrived. In answer to this request, the king of France sent the fathers Avril and Barnaby, to try the way to China by land; but they not being able to obtain the necessary passports at Moscow, were obliged to return home. Barnaby died by the way; Avril returned, and wrote an account of his travels, where there are many curious things, for information

mation of any who designs to go that road: but since they concern not my present purpose, I pass them.

But we have information of the affairs of the popish missionaries in China, of a later date than those of Monseigneur le Comte: particularly in a book, entitled, *Memoirs for Rome, concerning the state of the Christian Religion in China*, printed at London, 1710; where the first memoir informs us, that pope Clement XI. as soon as he was promoted to the throne, sent M. Charles de Tournon to China, as the fittest man he could make choice of, to redress disorders there; he created him patriarch of Antioch, and intrusted him with ample powers. He arrived at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, in November 1703, and lodged with the Jesuits. During his stay there, he found the Jesuits in those parts involved in the turpitude of heathenish superstitions: one example may excite horror. The Heathens there, blinded by the devil, pay the same respect to a cow^a, as formerly the Egyptians did, and look on it as a kind of divinity; with great respect they gather up their excrements, dry them, beat them to powder, and temper them into a kind of paint, with which they make sundry figures on their foreheads. The Jesuits thought it not proper to deprive the Indians of this custom, even when they had reconciled them to the Christian faith: They judged the ready expedient to make it lawful, was, to bless the excrement when dried, and beat into powder, as they used to do with ashes, at the beginning of lent; with this precaution,

^a See of this doctrine of the Bramans, above, p. 64.

precaution, they permitted these converts to besmear themselves with it as much as they pleased. The Jesuits undertook to defend this practice, saying, "If one meddle to oppose these customs, Christianity will be lost among the Indians."

The Cardinal Tournon being satisfied with the truth of these facts, writ down their exorbitancy, and condemned them by a censure proportionable to their deserts, and used all gaining methods to reclaim the Jesuits, who defended them. He embarked and came to Manilla, where having reformed some abuses, he proceeded in his voyage and arrived at Canton in China, April 1705, where father Visdelau, a Frenchman, learned in the sciences of the Chinese, declared to him against the sentiments of the Jesuits, and candidly acknowledged they were in the wrong. When the Cardinal came to Peking, he found the Jesuits building a new church, in room of the old one, and took occasion to forbid them to expose on their altar the picture with the inscription, *Adore the heavens*, which they had upon their old church; but they would not promise obedience. Tho' the Cardinal was admitted to great familiarity with the emperor, yet the Jesuits ruined all his projects; they hindered M. Abbe Sabino from being sent with rich presents from the emperor of China, to the Pope: yea, got themselves exempt from the Cardinal's episcopal visitation. It was too evident at Peking, that the Jesuits had entered on contracts in money, which could not be reconciled with the gospel. With all their eloquence, they could never excuse lending money at 25, or 27 per cent. from being criminal in religious men, who had made a vow of poverty to God, and ought to shew themselves

themselves patterns of disinterested integrity among the Heathen. The discovery of this and other frauds, made the Cardinal hateful to them. It was still far worse, in what regarded the superstition and idolatries of the empire: It was no wonder the Jesuits had the ascendant over the emperor's mind, since the system of religion which they taught, did flatter his self-love and repose: Self-love, by making him believe, that he always had the knowledge of the true God, whom the Christians adore, whom he always worshipped under the name of Heaven, a thing which he never dreamed of: And they flattered his repose, by tolerating among the Chinese, the sacrifices offered to Confucius and their ancestors, over the whole empire, and that no alteration was to be made in those matters, though they turned Christians. This was rather to confirm Heathens in idolatry, than to convert them to Christianity. However, the Jesuits insinuated themselves into the emperor's favour, by petty services; as keeping in order, and mending his watches, and pendulum clocks, tuning his harpsichords, making mathematical instruments, and almanacks, and directing how to frame great guns. The Cardinal soon perceived the danger would ensue, upon any dispute concerning religion, before such a prince, and therefore put it off.

After Cardinal Tournon had been seven months at Pekin, the bishop of Conop arrived, and the Cardinal acquainted the emperor of him. The day following, two Mandarins came from the emperor, to demand of the bishop, if he found any thing in the doctrine of Confucius, contrary to the Christian religion. The bishop being juridically

dically in question, thought himself obliged to make a profession of his faith, and therefore freely told them, " he discovered many things in the doctrine of Confucius, that were irreconcilable to the Christian religion." They urged him to specify the particulars: he said, " that would require a considerable time;" yet on the spot, he recited fifty passages; which was no hard matter for him to do, since in two volumes he had composed on the subject, he had made a collection of twenty thousand passages out of Chinese books, which demonstrated how far the religion of the Chinese was incompatible with the mysteries of the Christian faith. He observed, " that the Chinese admitted nothing for a first principle, but a substance that was not an intelligent Being, nor self-existent, and so contradicts the Christian religion, which acknowledges the only eternal God, who created heaven and earth of nothing, who made man, and the world for him to dwell in." He observed also, " that sacrifices were to be offered to God only, and not, as the Chinese thought, to the Heavens, to the Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars, Mountains, Rivers, and the most unworthy creatures." The Mandarins were highly displeased, that the bishop of Conon should find fault with the sacrifices which their emperor offered, and got him declared ignorant of the Chinese learning, and which was worse, made him prisoner in the house of the Jesuits, where he was kept from converse with any European: and this was followed by a sentence of banishment, in December 1706. In the same Memoirs, page 38, we have a consolatory letter sent by the Cardinal de Tournon, to the bishop of Conon, to solace him under his sufferings.

ferings. I find in another author^a, whom we shall afterwards have occasion to mention, "that the Cardinal himself was poisoned by the emissaries of the Jesuits at Macao, on the borders of China."

If the anonymous author of the memoirs for Rome, seems to any no sufficient authority, I shall now offer, *The History of the Controversy concerning the Chinese worship*, from an unquestionable author, Lewis Elis Dupin, a popish historian of great knowledge and probity. He says^b, "that affair has depended long at Rome, between the Jesuits and the other missionaries of China; the former maintaining, that the worship which the Chinese paid to Confucius, and their ancestors, was purely civil, and might be allowed to converted Chinese: And the latter, on the contrary, believing this to be a part of their religious worship, and consequently unlawful for Christians. The gospel was not carried to China, till after the year 1550, St. Francis Xavier, after having preached in Japan, took a resolution to go to China, but while he was on his way thither, he was taken ill in the isle Sancyon, where he died in 1552. In 1556, father Gaspar de la Croix, a Portuguese Dominican, found a way of entering China, and of making Christians there. Father Michael Roggieri, and after him father Matthew Ricci, went there in 1580, and afterwards, some other Dominicans went and settled there. Father Ricci thought, that the most proper way of succeeding in the conversion of the Chinese, was to persuade them, that their religion did not much differ from
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^a Popery against Christianity, by Parthenopæus Hereticus, pag. 77.
^b Compendious History of the Church, Vol. IV, pag. 236. & seq. Cent. XVII. chap. 22.

that of the Christians; that it was the true God, whom they worshipped, under the name of Tien and Xamti, that is to say, "Heaven and the king on high; and, that since they worshipped the one true God, the worship which they paid to Confucius and their ancestors, was not idolatry, but a civil and political custom, which might be allowed to converted Chinese. Father Ricci dying in 1610, father Longobardi, who had been thirteen years in that country, succeeded him. He had all along entertained doubts and scruples about the system of father Ricci, and his doubts were increased, upon the notice, that father Pacifico, Visitor-general, gave him, that the missionaries of Japan did not approve the opinion of father Ricci—The Jesuit missionaries were divided upon the question. Longobardi wrote a treatise on purpose to prove against the opinion of father Ricci, "that the Chinese owned no other deity but heaven, and its material virtue, which extended to all beings." The Jesuits of Macao acquiesced in his sentiments, and father Palmeiro, the new visitor, gave an order to the missionaries, not to employ the word Xamti any more, to signify the true God—But the missionaries did not agree to it.—This dispute being brought to Rome, in 1644, and the question being proposed to the congregation de Propaganda Fide, they resolved it, contrary to the mind of the Jesuits, declaring, that worship was unlawful; and Pope Innocent X. ordered, by a decree, on the 12th of September, 1645, "That the resolutions of the congregation should be followed and observed by the missionaries, upon pain of excommunication." In 1656, father Martini, a Jesuit, proposed other demands

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to the congregation, laying open the facts after another manner; and upon that representation, the congregation approved part of the worship of the Chinese, supposing the honours were purely civil, and that there was nothing superstitious in them. Pope Alexander VI. confirmed that declaration, by a decree, March 23, 1656^c, without revoking the decree of innocent X. The Jesuits taking advantage of this last resolution to persist in their practices, and pretending, that the first decree was tacitly revoked by this last; the Dominicans made their complaints of this, in 1661, to the congregation, who declared, by their answer of the 13th of November, that both resolutions did subsist, and were circumstances differently represented; but this decision not terminating the disputes, father Navarette, a Dominican, did, in 1674, propose to the congregation of the inquisition several doubts, relating to the worship of Confucius, and the ancestors, and obtained favourable answers for prohibiting thereof. However, this did not put an end to the disputes between the Dominican and Jesuit missionaries.

In the Pontificate of Innocent XI. M. Maigrot, doctor of divinity in the faculty of Paris, and of the society of the Sorbonne, in the seminary of foreign missions, being consulted by the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries, upon the Cartouches exposed in the churches and chapels, on which these words are written, "This is the seat of the soul of Confucius, upon the term which the Christians ought to make use of, to express the divine Majesty." After having maturely examined that affair,

^c See the decree at large, in the *Memoirs for Rome*, pag. 88. & seq.

affair, published his ordinance, on the 26th of March 1693, forbidding Christians to make use of the words Tien and Xamti, to signify the true God; to expose any Cartouch in the churches, with this inscription, *Kine Tien*, worship the heavens; to assist at the solemn sacrifices of Confucius, and the ancestors; to have in private houses Cartouches, with these words written upon them, This is the soul of such a one deceased; or to say, that the philosophy of the Chinese has nothing in it contrary to the Christian law; and, that the worship which Confucius paid to spirits, is a political worship^d. This ordinance of M. Maigrot, though approved by the other apostolical vicars, and most of the missionaries of China, yet not having been received by the Jesuits, he was obliged to write about it to the Pope, and demand his judgment thereupon. His order was presented to the Pope, in 1696, with a petition, by which he referred himself to the holy see, to ordain what it should please, as to the contents thereof; the affair was oppositely drawn up at Rome, where memoirs, instructions, and other writings, were presented to the congregation, on both sides. The matter was likewise handled in France, in French books. The superiors and directors of the seminary of foreign missions at Paris, wrote a letter to the Pope in 1700, upon the question of the Chinese worship, and did make it public, that it might serve to answer some public writings in France, set forth by the Jesuits. At the same time they condemned some propositions in father le Comte's *Memoirs of China*, viz. First, "that the

^d See this decree at large, in the *Memoirs for Rome*, pag. 171, & seq.

the people of China had preserved the knowledge of the true God, for two thousand years, and worshipped him in such a manner, as might serve for an example and instruction, even to Christians. Secondly, that the people had sacrificed to the creator, in the most ancient temple of the universe. Thirdly, That the purity of morality, the sanctity of manners, faith, the internal and external worship of the true God, priests, the sacrifices of the saints, men inspired by God, miracles, the spirit of religion, the purest charity, and the Spirit of God, had been kept up among the Chinese, for above two thousand years. Fourthly, That no nation had ever more favours conferred upon it, than China had. Fifthly, That the Chinese is the same with the Christian religion, in all its principles and fundamental points; that the ancient Chinese worshipped the same God that the Christians do, and acknowledged him, as well as they, for the God of heaven and earth." These propositions, and the books that contained them, having been laid before the faculty of divinity at Paris, on the first of July 1700, the faculty having examined and deliberated upon them, in several writings, censured the five propositions just now mentioned, by their decisions of the 18th of October, 1700.

In the mean while, the affair relating to the worship of the Chinese, was still preparing at Rome, and, in fine, the congregation of the inquisition published, a decree under Pope Clement XI. by which it is forbid to make use of the words Tien and Xamti, to express the true God by; to put Cartouches in the churches, with these words written upon them, Kine Tien, worship the heavens,

vens, even with an explanation; to assist at the solemn sacrifices that are performed to Confucius, and the ancestors, or at less solemn oblations, either in churches or private houses; nor to suffer Cartouches in churches, on which are written these words, This is the seat of the soul of such an one." This is the sum of the decree of the congregation of the inquisition, authorized by the Pope, November 20th, 1704. The Pope did not publish it at that time, but gave it to the Sieur Charles de Tournon, patriarch of Antioch, afterwards named Cardinal, whom he sent legate a Latere to the spot, to regulate affairs. This legate arriving in China, conferred with the missionaries, and made an order, by which he ordained the missionaries to declare, "that the sacrifices which the Chinese perform, are not agreeable to the Christian law; that, in particular, those made to Confucius, and the ancestors, are unlawful for Christians; that the Cartouches of the dead ought not to be suffered; that they ought to maintain, that the Tien and Xamti are not the God of the Christians." This order was given at Nanquin, the 25th of January, 1707. The Pope's decree given in 1704, was not published in Europe, till 1709. M. de Tournon published his Mandamus at Nanquin, and sent it to all the bishops and apostolical vicars of China. At first, all the missionaries submitted to it; but some time after, the bishop of Ascalon, who received it first, appealed from it to the holy see, and caused his act of appeal to be signified; the bishop of Macao joined him: and twenty-four Jesuits did also throw in their appeal from the order of the 28th of May, 1707. They sent the fathers Barros and Beauvolier to Rome,

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Rome, to sustain their appeal, and that of the bishops. In the mean while, the emperor of China being informed of what had passed, forbade all foreign missionaries to stay in this kingdom, unless they approved the Chinese ceremonies. He banished the bishop of Conon in particular, and some others, and caused the legate to be conveyed to Macao, with orders to keep him there, till such time as the Jesuit fathers, who had been sent to Europe, were returned. He was kept there in close prison, where he died in 1710. When the Pope's decree was published in Europe, some did maintain, that it was only conditional, and supposed, that the facts were true, and that so it decided nothing: Thus far from Dupin.

Another author, who covers himself under the name of Parthenopæus Hereticus (but I am told, he is called Mr. James Gordon, who was several years among the Jesuits, and a father confessor in the year 1714, but came to England, and renounced Popery, and declared himself a Protestant in the year 1719) informs us^e, of the *Manresian Harangue, omnibus omnia, or omnia munda mundis, to the clean, all things are clean*; which was first revealed to Ignatius Loyola, founder of the order of the Jesuits, in the monastery of Manresa, in the kingdom of Valencia. The design of it is altogether levelled against the Christian religion, and framed with the greatest art and skill to promote atheism and ambition, and any thing but what is honest and good, by commanding their missionaries to preach and propagate the gospel of Christ a-la mode, as we may call it, or, accord-

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^e Popery against Christianity, by Parthenopæus Hereticus, Preface and pag. 20. & seq.

ing to every person's inclination and disposition of mind. Many abominations, even of the modern church of Rome, are discovered by this author, in the book just now cited, and in another paper, entitled, *An account of the superstitious ceremonies, and wicked practices of the church of Rome, in the holy Week*; which lie not now in my road. But shall only observe with him, that by means of this Manresian Harangue, Xavier made surprising and unexpected conversions, by espousing the different and various inclinations of all sorts of sinners, insinuating himself, and gaining their affections miraculously, by the good use he made of his *omnibus omnia, all things to all men*. Yea, all the Romish apostles, viz. Philip Neri, Francis of Sales, John Capistranus, &c. have followed this method in propagating the gospel.

The letter of Monseignior Maigrot, produced before the committee for examining the Chinese rites, signed by five bishops, and seven superiors, of religious orders, gives so clear a view of the wicked methods the Jesuits use in China, that I here insert it, as I find it in the author last recited^f.

“**I** Call, says M. Maigrot, the awful and tremendous name of him, who is to judge me at the last day, as witness, that I shall neither assert nor report any thing in this letter either for sway of party, private interest, or animosity; but only for the honour and glory of the Almighty, and the greater progress of the true orthodox faith. The impudence and impurity of the Jesuits morals, scandalously vicious and profane, has brought the people of this country, first to a dislike of Christ

^f Partheaopæus Hereticus, pag. 70. & seq.

Christ crucified, then to a contempt, and at last to a bare-faced and open renouncing of him. The first rise of this immorality is owing to their unbounded ambition, and worldly inclinations, which are become so violent and impetuous, that they bear down all opposition, whether made by honour, prudence, or religion, by openly and licentiously reviling the self-abasing and self-crucifying doctrines of the gospel, and by breaking through the fear of God, and remonstrances of their own consciences: they deny the very being of a Deity, and the difference betwixt moral good and evil; and have made a sacrifice of all that is good, to the idol of avarice. Hence arises the obstinate warfare betwixt them and the true preachers of the word of God; for the zeal of many a good and pious priest has testified and remonstrated against the inroads of their idolatrous and sinful practices, especially against the adoring the material heavens, and Confucius. Thus, like people who do not like to retain God in their hearts, they set themselves against every thing that is on his side, and against that very light of their own minds, which contradicts such impious proceedings; till at last, by a perverse temper, a reprobate conscience, and a distorted judgment, triumphing and carrying every thing at their pleasure, they seem, as it were, equipped with the armour of darkness; I mean, the whole mighty power of an idolatrous emperor, to oppose the propagating of the gospel. They have made him to impose an oath upon all those that design to remain in his dominions, of worshipping Confucius, of sacrificing to the domestic gods, or manes, of invoking the material heavens, and, in a word, of symbolizing with these

Heathens in every act of idolatry, and of obeying the emperor, as well in ecclesiastic as in civil affairs, by openly acknowledging all the pope's decrees to be of no value, unless confirmed by his authority. All which the Jesuits make use of to maintain their authority and vast riches, to make creatures, support friends, to establish alliances with other whores of Bablyon, I mean with other monks and friars, who prostitute themselves to pride and avarice as they do, to break and form parties, and to pursue and promote the arts of a diabolical policy, which they shelter under the wings of heathenish authority. To ingratiate themselves with the emperor, which is their principal drift, they make no difficulty to consecrate the basest of means. Thus they have freed their whole society from the jurisdiction of bishops, the emperor not suffering them to be liable to any punishment, but such as their superior shall think fit to lay upon them; which is seldom suitable to their enormous transgressions, unless in the case of schism from their idolatrous tenets; and in this their jealousy makes them very severe against all those of their own order, who have so much remaining honesty, or religion left them, as to preach the word of God. Now having purchased ease, riches, and impunity, such as are poor, guilty or ambitious, enter their fellowship, which frees them from present want, and fear of punishment for former offences, how capital soever; and these being for the most part of the choicest natural abilities, soon learn the skill of carrying on the work of darkness with great prosperity, and do not only make use of such idolatries and profitable errors as their forefathers left them, but bring in new ones of their

their own contriving, gilding them with the splendid titles of things necessary for propagating the gospel in China. From such doctrines, and the union of such people together, proceeds so great softness and pravity of manners that their houses are become sinks of gluttony, filth, and unnatural impurity; and their retreats are places that nourish men in sloth, and in a sort of life that shrouds, under the veil of austerity, and vow of chastity, the greatest debaucheries, and most execrable lusts. The cloud of ignorance, which for a long time has covered the face of Christianity in this part of the world, has been a great help to keep their juggling undiscovered: for, as they with great policy obtained from the emperor in the beginning, that all things concerning the Christian religion should pass through their hands, so they had opportunities to make all books and records speak in their favour; which being manuscripts, and so but in few hands, it was no hard matter for the Jesuits to corrupt, who were for many years, even by the popes, entrusted with the whole care of Christianity here; till Urban VIII. in the year 1640, was pleased, at the request of the zealous cardinals, to send bishops and apostolical vicars to this country, whom the Jesuits most furiously persecuted in the beginning, and to whom to this very day they bear an implacable grudge. At which I do not wonder in the least: I should rather wonder were it otherwise; for being the slaves of ambition, they were afraid lest bishops, who are undoubtedly their superiors, should, by visiting their colleges, discover their inconceivable abominations, and so lessen their credit. Therefore, they have obtained lately from the emperor, orders

ders to all the Mandarins, for the crushing and overthrowing the zeal and over-forwardness of the prelates in proceeding against them. To effectuate this, no stone is left unturned, no means untried, that art, tyranny, and ambition can suggest; for they keep always the fathers Gerbillon and Bovet at the emperor's court at Peking as their agents. But when such arts will not do, and their intreaties, intrigues, and stratagems miscarry, then they boldly take off the mask, and strike home, by impiously and boldly asserting, "That the gospel must be preached in China, and the missionaries live in the manner and form that the emperor commands, who is the head of the literati; and aver, They will rather set all Christendom in confusion, than suffer their idolatries to be struck at, or the subversion of their grandeur attempted." All this, and much more, father Gerbillon has told me very often, and has threatened me and all my followers with the persecutions of Pagan emperors against Christians, if I should question the truth of their doctrines. I conclude, their laughing at the gospel, their burlesquing true piety, their mocking at Popes and councils, and jesting at the awful concerns of a future life, are become as common as eating and drinking among them. Thus, having laid before your eminencies some of the most trodden paths of the Jesuits proceedings in China, which are the quintessence of Atheism, Infidelity, and all other wickedness, I leave it to your serious consideration, heavenly prudence, and undaunted courage, to think upon the necessary means of censuring the faults, chastising the dissolute, and casting out the incorrigible. Until this be done, the pa-
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pal authority, and that of the church of Christ, will remain inglorious over all the world; for, as Anathemas have been the foundation of the papal greatness, so they are the pillars of it now that it is raised."

I am,

With the most profound respect,
your Eminencies most humble,
and most obedient Servant,

MAIGROT.

Pekin, August
18th, 1700.

Though all this was produced, and the base, irreligious, Pagan, idolatrous practices of the Jesuits further manifested by the liturgy of Matthew Ricci, a Jesuit, who entered China, December 2. 1552; yet the Pope did not immediately, by a solemn decree, condemn these impieties, only Cardinal de Tournon was sent into China to condemn them there. The forming of the decree that was sent with him was of such importance, as puzzled them all, since it was to be worded in so ambiguous and captious terms, as might seem to condemn their idolatries in China, without the least suspicion of censure against those practised at Rome; between which there is so great an analogy, that, as father Ceva observes*, "'tis altogether impossible to condemn the Chinese rites, without anathematizing, at the very same time, the very fundamental articles of the Romish religion." When Cardinal Tournon published his decree against the Jesuits in China, they found methods to get him banished, and afterwards poisoned at Macao, as has been before observed. When this news came to Rome, the Pope was exceedingly displeased with the Jesuits, and threatened them with ruin,

* Popery against Christianity, by Parthonopæus Hereticus, pag 738.

ruin, citing them to answer before the court of Inquisition. Tamburini their general went to Tivoli, and wrote a letter to the Pope, which represents the tricks, knavery, treachery, yea, may I say, massacres and butcheries practised by the Jesuits, from the first foundation of their order in 1537, to the present time, for-aggrandizing the see of Rome, with a threatening of open war against Clement XI. if he would not desist from persecuting them^a. This letter, with the military eloquence of Count Thaun, who, as he was marching to invade Naples, entered Rome with 500 horse, and among other things told his Holiness¹, "That the emperor Joseph would stand by the Jesuits, so terrified the Pope, as he sent immediately Monsr. Oliveri and Don Hannibal Albani, two of his nephews, who have both since been made Cardinals, to treat and conclude an agreement with the general of the Jesuits, who was at Tivoli: who, by the mediation of the Imperial ambassador, patched up a treaty as infamous and dishonourable to the Pope, as it was favourable and advantageous to the Jesuits. By virtue thereof, "The Pope was bound to confirm all the privileges and immunities of the Jesuits, to give Cardinal Tournon's cap to father Ptolomei of their order, to canonize Stanislaus Cozha, to beatify father Regis, and to leave the affairs of China as they were in the year 1700; by declaring, That Cardinal Tournon was rash and inconsiderate in his proceedings, and had gone beyond his commission. And lastly, to condemn the Jansenists. The Jesuits, on their side, were obliged to assist his holiness, as they had done his predecessors, by not standing

^a See this letter at large, *ibid* pag. 235, & seq. *Ibidem* pag. 254.

standing at any thing which might propagate the jurisdiction and authority of the Holy See, and to procure the ruin and destruction of heresy in all the kingdoms of the world; but especially in England, by increasing their emissaries to the number of 160." Thus the great zeal of the court of Rome to condemn and reform the heathenish rites of the Jesuits in China, dwindled into nothing.

I may also observe, that Philip Couplet, a Jesuit, who was for a long time a missionary in China, returned from that country, and made a discourse to the society for propagating the faith at Rome, in the year 1681. His speech is too long to be here inserted: I have noticed at the foot of the page, where the curious may find it^k. The scope thereof is, "That the propagation of Christianity by the Jesuits in China, at present depends upon an uncertain slippery foundation, *viz.* the regard which the emperor hath to them for their skill in mathematics and astronomy. And he affirms, that 'tis impossible to teach the Chinese the Latin tongue, or to make them understand divine offices in that language, because of the certain peculiar idiom, accent, and pronunciation of the Chinese tongue, incommunicable to the Latin; and that therefore 'tis most necessary, that the Pope and court of Rome should allow divine offices to be performed in the language of the country, and persons to be trained and educated for it, without which Christianity can never be propagated there." How far this is agreeable to the council of Trent, and the doctrine of the church of Rome, I leave to others to judge: but 'tis certain, the apostles,

^k In Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico Theologica, Classis quinta, Fasciculus primus, printed at Amsterdam 1721. pag. 607, ad 638.

apostles, who first propagated the gospel through the world, had the gifts of tongues, and spoke to every one in their own language. And the popish missionaries can never have real success among infidels, who will not allow them the Scriptures, nor divine offices in their native tongue. The reason why Mahometanism spreads further in the East-Indies than popish Christianity, is, that the Mahometans allow their Alcoran and their offices to be performed in a tongue known to the people, which the Papists do not with their sacred offices; and so do not teach the people Christianity, but what strange inventions they please.

What I have already represented from unquestionable authors, concerning the popish missionaries in China, and particularly, that, according to the doctrine of their church, they do not allow the people the scriptures in their native language, makes me to give the more credit to what I read in Mr. Fleming's *Christology*¹. He says, that a worthy gentleman, who had lived long in China, told him, that the Jesuit missionaries were heard to harangue, after this manner, to a considerable auditory in Chinese: "Ye have had many very great, wise, and excellent emperors here in China, and no nation can boast of the like; but yet none of these, nor indeed all of them, can be compared to the eternal emperor Jesus Christ. That ye may know this, I will now give a short, but true and exact account of him. The world being very wicked, and men very miserable, by reason of the tyranny of those kings and princes that ruled before his coming, especially the head of all these, the

¹ Mr. Fleming's *Christology*, vol. 2. pag. 19—21.

the emperor of Rome, who reigned over the greatest part of the world at that time, with terrible rigour and cruelty; God took pity upon mankind at last, as finding their state grow worse and worse. To rectify this, he resolves to send his own Son from heaven to subdue these tyrants, and reduce things to order again. Well! at length the heavens appear more glorious than ever before, a wonderful light, bright and glorious, that outshone the sun by ten thousand degrees, breaks forth. Great noises are heard in the air, with most wonderful and delightful music, and at length a prodigious army of more than a thousand thousand millions of angels appears in sight; before whom marches a chariot of a prodigious bigness, all of solid gold, most curiously wrought, but so thick set with precious stones, that the gold could hardly be seen for their sparkling and dazzling splendour. This chariot was drawn by ten thousand bright and nimble spirits, and a hundred thousand of a nobler rank guarded this chariot before and on either side, being commanded and led by Raphael the Archangel, as the rest of the army that followed the chariot was by the great Michael, the first of all the archangels, and lieutenant-general to Christ himself, who rode in his golden chariot, and commanded all. Now, says the Jesuit, here all language fails me in setting forth the glory of this great general; he was of a most prodigious stature, as big as a thousand men, but most wonderfully beautiful, and exactly symmetred. His face outshone the sun so far in splendour, as is beyond all conception; he had a prodigious flaming sword in his left hand, the very light of which was terrible; but in his right hand

hand he had the ensign of the Cross, which had a sanative virtue in it, to remove distempers, and chear the heart, to recover the frenzical and distracted, to raise the dead; and, in a word, to work all manner of miracles, to remove mountains, dry up seas, &c. Now, says he, all tyrants and wicked men were convicted and punished by him, and the Roman empire destroyed. In the stead of which, he raised up one Peter, a most eminently holy and excellent person, to rule the whole world for him as his vicegerent. He destroyed not only the empire of Rome, but the name of emperor, and the very form of that government; and in its stead, he erected a holy constitution, over which he set this wise and holy man Peter, ordering, that when he should be called out of the world into heaven, that his chief priests should come together and pray to him, and that upon their so doing, he would send them an angel to tell them what person he had pitched upon to succeed in this sacred and universal headship over the world. And when he had done this, he took his leave of Peter and his bishops, and went to heaven with all his army, in the same glorious and triumphant manner in which he came. But he assured the viceroy Peter, that as often as he desired, he should hear from him by a special messenger, who should assist him in all dark cases, and affairs of consequence. And he never failed to do so to Peter, and all his successors the Popes. So that, says the priest, the Pope that now is, has had frequent messengers from Christ in heaven, commanding him to send holy men to the great empire of China, out of the great love he has for that learned, wise, and excellent people, to invite them

them to leave their idolatrous priests and false worship, and own him and his vicegerent the Pope. Now, I am one of these holy missionaries, continues he, and I assure you, that whosoever of you shall do as I shall direct, shall, when he dies, go into that glorious paradise, where Christ is, and that I may know who have a mind to be thus happy, lo! I have here a book given me by the Pope, by order of Christ himself, that I may mark down in it the names of all those that desire his favour: which I must from time to time send an account of to the Pope, that he may send it to Christ in heaven. And I assure you, that all those who refuse to have their names thus recorded, shall be destroyed at last in a most terrible manner. Come, therefore, and let me have all your names, but know, that every one that expects this favour, must give me his offering in money, according to his ability, that the sincerity of his heart may be known." Thus far the priest and his romances, which, as I am told, says my author, wrought upon a great many to his heart's content. I have given the story as I found it. If the hearers of this missionary could, like the noble Bereans, Acts xvii. 11. *have searched the scriptures whether these things were so*, they would have soon found out their teacher to be a mere cheat, and a vile deceiver, and abhorred him as such; but, alas! the poor Chinese knew nothing of the Bible. Whether the story be true or false, we may infer this from it, that no person should be trusted to teach strangers the Christian religion, without giving their disciples the standard of the written word of God to build upon; far less should men of such a character, as even M. Maigrot,

Maigrot, and other papists represent the missionary Jesuits in China to deserve, be trusted to lead men whom they pretend to convert, into such abominable delusions.

I had almost forgot one passage, which I find in Monsieur Mont's voyage to New France, in the year 1603^m, where we read, "That the French in that country, baptized the great Sagamo, or prince of the Savages, that inhabited about Port-Royal, his wife, and his two sons; the Sagamo being honoured with the king of France's name, his wife with the queen's, and his two sons, one with the Pope's, and the other with the Dauphin's. The spirit of Popery was got into this savage king by that time he was baptized; he was no sooner out of the font almost, but he threatened his savage neighbours with fire and sword, if they did not follow his example, and become Christians as well as he. His spiritual fathers should have instructed him, that this was the way to make these barbarians afraid of Christianity, but not to fall in love with it.

I have now done with the endeavours of the church of Rome, to propagate Christianity among the Heathens over the world. If we may judge of their practices by what we have observed of the Jesuits in China, we may see, that they rather cloak heathenish idolatry, than promote true Christianity.

Before I enter upon what the Protestants have done for Propagation of Christianity, I may observe that Dr. Leonhart Rawolf travelled into the eastern countries from the year 1573 to 1576. He
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published his travels in High Dutch, and they are translated into English by John Ray, fellow of the Royal Society. They contain many curious things concerning plants, and the state of these parts of the world. But there is only one passage I remark, as apposite to our present purpose, viz. "that in Persia there are many Christians of the persuasion of Prester-John, whom they call Amama; the occasion whereof was, that about twelve years ago, (that's from the date of his travels) the king of Persia made a league with Prester-John against the Turks, who came so hard on him, that he was forced to seek help of strangers. One of the articles of the league was, "That the Persians should tolerate the Christian religion that he professed." Whereupon he sent him a patriarch and some priests, which had this effect, that now there are above 20 towns in Persia of the religion of Prester-John; they have some books of the holy scripture, and epistles of St. Thomas, whom they call Alrish. That these Christians may be discerned, they wear a Cross on the inside of their left leg, and give the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to young and old in both kinds; but before they go to it, they must have their feet washed, for this end there are little rivulets let through their churches, where they sit down, and some of the chiefest in the town wash their feet; when this is done, they give to one another a kiss of love, then they read the words of institution, and so receive. They do not make confession before partaking; they endure no images in their churches, but make use of harps, pipes, and other instruments for music.

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It is proper now to come to the history of what Protestants have done, for propagating Christianity, and overthrowing of Paganism over the world, in these last ages of the church; where I shall consider what has been done by the English, by the Dutch, and by the Danish missionaries; and conclude this chapter with some good things a doing in other parts of the world, for advancing Christianity.

I begin with what has been done by the English. In Mr. Harris's complete Collection of Travels, we have several narratives of the first English planters in Virginia^o, and the several difficulties they had to struggle with. I find there only one passage that concerns the propagation of Christianity. The English made one Pocahunta their prisoner; she was the beloved daughter of Powhatan, an Indian king; she is commended, as a person of a better disposition than the rest of her country, and was well pleased with her life among the English; and by the care of Sir Thomas Dale, was thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion, which, after some time, she made an open and solemn profession of, and was thought fit to be entered into the visible church by baptism, which was accordingly administered to her^p. After this, with her father and friends approbation, she was married to an English gentleman of the plantation, and came to England with her husband, in the year 1616; where she behaved like the daughter of a king, and was treated as such, not only by the Virginia company, but by all the nobility, who conversed with her. She intended to

^oFrom pag. 815—848 vol. 1.

^pIbidem, vol. 1. pag. 839.

to have returned to her native country, but being come to Gravesend, she died there, giving proofs of her sincerity in embracing the Catholic religion, and of a sound progress therein.

But we have a more large, valuable, and refreshing information of the propagation of Christianity among the Heathens in New England; which may give us ground to glorify the name of our God, who sends the Redeemer's kingdom to these Barbarians afar off, and may afford hopes of great things that may be done by the joint endeavours of good men, who shall imitate so noble an example.

In my entry on this subject, I acknowledge that I am obliged to the labours of the learned Dr. Cotton Mather, who has given us an ecclesiastical history of New England, in folio, from its first planting in the year 1620, to 1698, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

That we may have some view of this colony, it is to be observed, that some English Nonconformists being burdened with persecution for not complying with superstitious ceremonies in England, retired about the year 1602 to Holland, and erected a church there, under the care of Mr. John Robinson; but finding Holland not for their health, nor for their purse, nor a place where they could promote religion, and transmit it to posterity, after ten years stay they left it. Upon their supplication to King James I. of that name in England, they obtained a patent for erecting a colony in America, with liberty for the settlement of their religion. The first undertakers embarked in England, and arrived at a place they called New-Plymouth, in November 1620. A greater num-

ber of persecuted English Nonconformists, arrived in the year 1629, in 198 ships. God prospered the colony wonderfully, for in less than fifty years, their number increased to more than 100,000 people.

But I am not to enlarge on the particulars of that colony, which those who desire, may see in Dr. Mather's history; only I shall give some account of the endeavours of some good men among them, to convert the Heathen Indians; in which work, Mr. John Elliot, who came to New-England in the year 1632, was very laborious and successful. The natives of that country (says my author¹) had been forlorn and wretched Heathens, ever since their first herding there. Tho' we know not how or when these Indians first became inhabitants of this great continent, yet we may guess, that probably the devil decoyed these miserable savages thither, in hopes, that the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ would never come to disturb his absolute empire over them. But Mr. Elliot was in such ill terms with the devil, as to sound the trumpet of the gospel in his territories, and to make zealous attempts for ousting him of his ancient possessions. His exemplary charity will be the more conspicuous, if we consider the forlorn case the Indians were in; they are the ruins of mankind, to be found any where on the face of the earth; no such riches are to be expected among them, as have been the baits which the pretended converters of other countries have snapped at. One might see among them, what a hard master the devil is to his most devoted

vassals;

¹ Mather's History of New-England, book 3. pag 190, & seq.

vassals; they live in a country full of mines; we have already made entrance into one of iron; and in the very surface of the earth among us, it is thought there lies copper enough to supply all the world, besides other mines: but our shiftless Indians were never owners of so much as a knife, till we came among them; stone was instead of metal, for their tools; and for their coins, they have only little beads, with holes, to string them on a bracelet; six of the white ones go for a penny, and three of the black or blue; they call them Trampan, they are made of a fish-shell, which continually lies on the shore. These Indians live in a country where we have all the conveniencies of human life, but as for them, their houses are nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastened in the earth, where a good fire serves for bed-clothes; in coldest seasons, their clothing is only the skin of a beast, covering their hind parts, their foreparts having a little apron, where nature calls for secrecy. Their diet has no greater dainty than Nohchick, that is, a spoonful of parched meal with water; they eat the flesh of deers, bears, mouse, raccoons, and the like, and some fish, which they can only preserve by drying; for they had no salt till we gave it them. Their physick is nothing but a hot-house, or a few specifics, or a Powaw. A crew of them run into their hot-house, sweat and smoke together, and then run into a cold brook without any mischief. In dangerous distempers, the powaw, or priest, a noted conjuror, comes, roars and howls with magical ceremonies over the sick; if they do not cure, the man's time is come, there is an end of him. Though they live in a country full of the best ship timber, yet they

never saw a ship, till some came from Europe; and then they were scared out of their wits, to see the monster sailing and spitting fire. They cross the water in canoes made of a tree, which they hollow, by burning and hewing; or they make one of barks knit together; if these over-set, they swim and paddle like a dog, and are soon where they were. Their men are abominably slothful, making their squaws or wives plant, dress their barn, order their wigwams, and do other pieces of husbandry, which perhaps is the reason of their ease in childbirth, while their husbands and sons go in troops to hunting, driving all before them. They divide their time by sleeps, moons, and winters: reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, tho' there is a rock or two in the country, on which are unaccountable engravings.

All the religion they have, amounts to this much; they believe there are many gods, who made, and do own the several nations of the world, of which, a certain god in the south-west regions of heaven, bears the greatest figure; they believe, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within or about it; there is with them a Sun god, a Moon god, and they cannot conceive, but the fire must be a kind of god, since a spark of it will produce strange effects. They believe, that when any good or evil happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of God expressed in it; hence, in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of ridiculous and extravagant devotions to their god; and in a time of prosperity, they have a feast to another. Finally, they believe their chief god Rontanowit made a
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man and a woman of a stone, which, on dislike, he brake into pieces; and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind. They also believe, we have in us immortal souls, which, if we are godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with Kautanowit; but if otherwise, shall wander about in a restless horror for ever; but they know nothing of the resurrection. At some occasions, after using diabolical rites, the devil appears to them, and informs them of circumstances and events, and uncouth things happen.

Mr. Elliot had a difficult work to civilize and Christianize such a barbarous people; he imagined they were the posterity of the dispersed ten tribes of Israel: "I have seen a book of his, giving the grounds of this conjecture; but I pass it as very improbable." The first step he judged necessary, was to learn the Indian language; he hired a native to teach him this exotic dialect, and with laborious art and skill reduced it to the method of a grammar, which he afterwards published. There is a letter or two in our alphabet, which the Indians never had in theirs. The words are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar; as Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash, which signifies no more than our lusts, and so of others. There is no tongue in Europe it has the least affinity with. Mr. Elliot having furnished himself with the language, sets himself in the year 1646, to preach the gospel among these desolate outcasts: his success may appear from a letter written by Increase Mather, to Dr. Leusden at Utrecht, whereof the sum follows.

"It is about forty years, since that truly godly man,

man, Mr. John Elliot, pastor at the church of Roxbury, about a mile from Boston in New-England, being warmed with a holy zeal for converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian tongue, that he might more easily and successfully open to them the mysteries of the gospel: upon the account of which, he has been called, the apostle of the American Indians. This reverend person, not without great labour, translated the whole Bible into the Indian language; he translated also several English treatises of practical divinity and catechisms into the same tongue. Above 26 years ago, he gathered a church of converted Indians in a town called Natik, these Indians confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Christ, and afterward were baptized with their children, and solemnly joined together in a church covenant. The said Mr. Elliot was the first who administered the Lord's Supper to them: an Indian, named Daniel, is now pastor of that church. Beside the church of Natik, among our inhabitants in Massachusset's colony, there are four Indian assemblies, where the name of the true God, and of Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon. These assemblies have some American preachers; Mr. Elliot formerly used to preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakened with labours, and old age, being in his eighty-fourth year, and preaches only to the Indians once in two months. There is another church consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Maschippaug; their first pastor was an Englishman, skilled in their language, who preached in it; now he is dead, and they have an Indian preacher. John Cotton,

Cotton, pastor of the church in Plymouth, skilful in the Indian tongue, preaches to them every week. There are five assemblies of Indians near Maschippaug, which have Indian preachers. At Saconet in Plymouth colony, there is a great congregation of those, who, for distinction's sake, are called praying Indians, who pray to God in Christ. Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, there are six assemblies of Heathens, who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, among whom are six Indian preachers. Samuel Treat, pastor of a church at Eastham, preaches to these assemblies in their own language. There is likewise among the islanders of Nantuket, a church with a pastor, who was lately a Heathen; and several meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians. There is also another island, about seven leagues long, called Martha's Vineyard, where are two American churches planted, more famous than the rest; over one of these presides an ancient Indian pastor, called Hiacombs; his son also preaches the gospel to his countrymen. In another church in that place, John Tochonish, a converted Indian, teaches: in these churches, Indian ruling-elders are joined with the pastors; they are chosen by the people with fasting and prayer. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Cotton ordained them by imposition of hands. All the converted Indians, both Catechumens, and those of the church order, meet together every Lord's day; the preacher begins with prayer without a form, because from the heart; when he has ended the prayer, the whole congregation praise God, by singing of psalms; some of them are excellent fingers; then he preaches from a text as the English do in New-England,

England, by whom they have been taught; and after another prayer, the service is concluded; thus they do twice every Lord's Day. They observe no holy-days, but the Lord's Day, except on extraordinary occasions, when they set apart the whole day for fasting or thanksgiving. Before the English came to these coasts; these barbarous people were ignorant of the true God, and have yet no terms in their language, to express the mysteries of religion; and therefore in their prayers and sermons, they use English words, as Jehovah, God, or Lord, and other theological phrases borrowed from us. In short there are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of Catechumens, who profess the name of Christ. There are twenty-four Indian preachers of the word of God, and three or four English ministers, who preach the gospel in the Indian tongue. There are many of the Indian children, who have learned the Catechism by heart, either that of Mr. Perkins, or that of the assembly at Westminster, and can answer every question in it, in their mother tongue." Thus far the letter dated at Boston in New-England, July 12, 1687, signed Increase Mather.

The learned Dr. Cotton Mather adds, after writing of this letter, there came into my hands one from the famous Dr. Leusden, where he informs me, that our example had awakened the Dutch, to make some noble attempts, for the furtherance of the gospel in the East Indies, beside what great things were done by the excellent Robert Junius in Formosa, fifty years ago; that in and near the
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Island of Ceylon, the Dutch pastors have baptized about three hundred thousand of the Eastern Indians: for though the ministers are utterly ignorant of their language, yet there are school-masters, who teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, a Morning and Evening Prayer, a Blessing before, and another after meat; and the minister, in his visits being assured by the master, that they have learned these things, he presently baptizes them. But the pious reader may easily see, one of our converted Indians, says Dr. Mather, has cost more pains than many of theirs. More thorough work has been made with them. It appears also, that many of these Christians in Ceylon, have been made since the year 1679; for Robert Knox, who staid twenty years there before that time, and carefully describes that island, met with very few of them^f.

Because Dr. Mather gives as satisfying an account, as any author I have seen, of a religious care in converting the Heathen, which is worth imitation of any who would successfully labour in that work; I shall go a little further with him. He discourses^g of the way of Mr. Elliot's preaching to the Indians, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10. Of his method of instructing them in the principles of religion, by way of question and answer: of his procuring schools for them, where they profited so much, as many of them not only learned to read and write, but some of them also attained to liberal education in our colleges, yea, took degree of graduates. He took also care to translate the Bible into the Indian language; a copy whereof I have

^f See above, p. 103,—107.
p. 196.

^g History of New-England, book 3.

I have seen in the library of the college of Glasgow. The principles of the church of Rome were hateful to him, for they keep this sacred treasure hid in an unknown tongue to the vulgar. He was most unlike the Franciscan, who writing to Europe, gloried how many thousand Indians he had converted; but adds, "He desired his friends would send him the book called the Bible, for he had heard there was such a book in Europe, which might be of some use to him." But our Eliot could not live without a Bible himself, and was careful to communicate it to the Indians, as the greatest honour they were ever partakers of. It is the only Bible that was ever printed in America, from the foundation of the world. A little Indian library quickly followed; as Catechisms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, and some others. The Indians having felt the impressions of his ministry, were called Praying Indians, and were for a more decent English way of living in fixed habitations. Natick was the place of the greatest name among their towns; here, in the year 1651, they, who had lived like wild beasts before, settled, by consent of the English, a form of civil government. Mr. Eliot, at a public fast, expounded to them Exodus xviii. and they chose rulers of hundreds, fifties, and tens, and entered into this covenant: *We are the sons of Adam, we and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of God designs to find us again. Therefore, the grace of Christ helping us, we do give ourselves and our children to God, to be his people; he shall rule us in all our affairs; the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us;*

us, and the wisdom of God that has taught us in his book, shall guide us. *Oh Jehovah! teach us wisdom, send thy spirit into our hearts, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.* After this, they abandoned Polygamy, heretofore common among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, and established a church-order among them, as in the churches of New-England. How pleasant was it to hear them exhorting one another, from the word of God, confessing their sins, and giving evidence of their faith and repentance! Mr. Elliot having a mission from the church of Roxbury, unto the work of the Lord Christ among the Indians, conceived himself sufficiently authorised to the performing of all that church work, conformable to Acts xiii. 1,—4. and accordingly he administered first baptism, and then the supper of our Lord unto them.

Indeed the Sachims, or the princes of the Indians, and the Powaws, or their clergymen, did all they could to maintain the interest of Satan's kingdom, fearing lest religion would abridge them of the tyranny they had been used to. This made their Sachims raise sometimes a storm of persecution upon their vassals, that would call on the eternal God; yea, they raised an unjust and bloody war upon the English, which issued in their own speedy extirpation from the face of the earth. Sometimes the more immediate hand of God, cutting off the principal opposers of the gospel among the Indians, made way for Mr. Eliot's ministry, of which Dr. Mather gives several instances^u.

Mr.

^u History of New-England, book 3. p. 201—203.

Mr. Elliot had several fellow-labourers in this work, as in the year 1666, Richard Bourn at Masschipaug, where many Indians gave signal proofs of their conversion; John Gibbs at Nantuket, old Mr. Mayhew, and several of his sons and grandsons in Martha's vineyard. There were, fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred seals of their ministry in that one island. In Connecticut, the godly Mr. Fitch and Mr. Pierson have had good success. In Massachusetts, as we see at this day, the pious Mr. Daniel Goukin and Mr. Peter Thatcher, have been very industrious to turn these poor creatures from darkness to light, and from the service of Satan to that of the living God. In Plymouth, Mr. Samuel Treat and Mr. Tapper use laudable endeavours; and particularly Mr. John Cotton, who has such skill and dexterity in the Indian tongue, as the second edition of the Indian Bible is wholly of his correction and amendment: beside others named in Mr. Increase Mather's letter above-mentioned. A sketch of these converted Indians knowledge and piety may be seen in the same history of New-England², in their sacred and solemn exercises: and of very surprizing questions they asked of their teachers, in *Hoornbeck de Conversione Indorum*³.

If we compare what these Protestants in New-England have done, with the success of the church of Rome in other places, we may observe a great difference. It is to be confessed, that the Papists have a very numerous clergy, little encumbered with secular affairs, and have the advantage of so great ecclesiastic revenues, as renders it easy to them

² History of New England, book 3. p. 201—203. & seq.

³ Pag. m. 262.

them to exceed the Protestants, in their endeavours to christianize Pagan savages; nor would I reproach, but rather applaud their industry in this matter, wishing we were all touched with an emulation of it. Yet their clamours against the reformed churches, obliges me, says Dr. Mather², “To tax divers very scandalous things in the missions which they make pro Propaganda Fide, through the world: by an odd accident, lately fell into my hands, the manuscripts of a Jesuit, whom the French employed as a missionary among the western Indians, in which papers, is a catechism, containing the principles these Heathens are to be instructed in; it is in the Iroquoise language, with a translation annexed, and some cases of conscience to direct their conversation. In the catechism, they give odd notions of heaven, that it is a fair soil, where they want neither meat nor clothes; that they do nothing; the fields give corn, beans, pumpkins and the like, without tillage; the trees are always green, full and flourishing; the sun ever shines, the fruits are never wasted.” Their notions of hell are as surprising; that it is a wretched soil, a fiery pit in the centre of the earth, always dark; the devils are ill-shaped things, with vizards on to terrify men, they have nothing to drink there but melted lead; that in hell they eat one another every day, but anon God restores the man that was eaten, as a cropt plant in a little time repullulates. Their resolves of cases of conscience are also surprising; that a man is not obliged to pay hire to his whore if he be a Christian; that if an Indian steal a hatchet from

² History of New-England, p. 102, & seq.—

from a Dutchman with whom he trades, he is not obliged to make restitution. But the Protestants in New-England teach the Indians *the sincere milk of the word*, and give them the whole Bible in their hands, to discern the truth: this education has been so blessed, as our Indian converts, at least some of them, pray and preach better than many Romish clergymen. We could have baptized many troops of Indians, says Mr. Mather, if we would have used no other measures with them, than the Roman Catholics did upon theirs at Maryland, where they baptized a great crew of Indians in some new shirts, bestowed to encourage them thereto; but the Indians, in a week or two, not knowing how to wash their shirts when grown foul, came and made a motion, "That the Roman Catholics should give them new shirts, or else they would renounce their baptism." Nor have we been acted with popish avarice, falshood or cruelty, in prosecuting conversions; the popish missionaries are rarely employed, but where beaver, silver, or vast riches are to be gained. The Spanish Friars, who went to California, quickly deserted it, because such a poor nation was not worth converting. Nor are we guilty of so much falsity and legerdemain tricks. Mynheer Dellius, a man sedulous and successful in his ministry among the Maquas, assures me, that a French preacher, attempting to bring the Indians over to his interest, to cure them of their infidelity, said, the sun should such a day be put out, which terrified them at a sad rate; but the Dutchman replied, this was no more than every child could foretel, by reading the day of the eclipse in an almanack, which filled the people with prejudices against

against the offers that the French made. The people of New-England have used no such stratagems nor knaveries, far less have they used popish cruelty. It is impossible to reckon up the various and exquisite barbarities with which the execrable Spaniards murdered in less than fifty years, no less than fifty millions of Indians: Was this the way of bringing them in to the sheepfold of our merciful Jesus? But the good people of New-England have carried with so much tenderness to those tawny creatures among whom they live, that they would not own so much as a foot of land in the country, without a fair consent of the natives, albeit we had a royal charter from the king of Great Britain to protect us in our settlement upon this continent. We likewise enacted laws, "That if any of our cattle did damage to their corn, we should give them ample satisfaction, and assist them in fencing their fields;" with other laws against selling or giving them intoxicating liquors. This account may stop the calumnies of Roman Catholics against the churches of the reformation, for neglecting to evangelize the natives of the Indies.

We have a further narrative of the success of the gospel among the Indians, by the same Mr. Mather; he says^a, "The number of adult persons of the Indians in the islands of Nantuket and Martha's Vineyard, is about three thousand, of whom sixteen hundred profess the Christian religion; that, in the year 1694, their number was considerably increased. We have a further account of a considerable number of christianized Indians on

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^a History of New-England, book 6. chap. 6. p. 50, & seq.

the continent^b, and that M. Dellius, a Dutch minister in Albany has learned the language of the Indians in those parts, and God has smiled on his endeavours so, as considerable numbers of them are converted to the faith of Christ; and there is reason to hope, that what is done is but the first-fruits of a great harvest to follow.

I have seen a later account of the present state of Christianity among the christianized Indians of New-England, in a letter from the same Dr. Mather, to the honourable Sir William Ashurst, governor of the corporation for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England, and parts adjacent in America, printed at Boston in 1705. From which take the following relation. "We shall now proceed where the history of New-England leaves off, and lay before your honour the present circumstances of the evangelic work among our Indians. There were in the southern parts of this province about four or five years ago, when your commissioners sent a couple of English ministers, who were masters of the Indian tongue, to visit them; no less than thirty several congregations of Indians, who commonly assembled every Lord's Day, and a great part of them to lectures on other days for the worship of the Great God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. We cannot understand, that the number of the congregations is considerably altered from what it was when these gentlemen examined their condition, and brought us that report from them. Indeed, the number of Indians in this land is not comparable to what it was fifty years ago, the hand of God has strangely
wasted

^b History of New-England, book 6. chap 6. p. 50, & seq.

wasted them; and the war they began on the English in 1675, hastened a strange desolation upon whole provinces. Almost all that remain in this Massachuset province are so far christianized, that they believe there is a God, and but one God, and that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world. Mr. Experience Mayhew, who is grandson to the old gentleman who first instructed the Indians in Martha's Vineyard, and, like his grandfather, is a laborious teacher among them, informs us, that there are about 180 Indian families on that island, and that of these there are no more than two persons who now remain Heathens. He at this time is gathering another church of Indians, whereof he himself is to be pastor.

"At the time of our last visitation, four or five years ago, there were about 37 Indians constant preachers of the gospel to them in their own language, in which they have Bibles, Catechisms, Psalms, and other books of piety translated by the labours of Englishmen. Besides, there are seven or eight English ministers who have learned the Indian tongue, who visit the Indian Assemblies, pray and preach among them, and give such directions as are needful to their affairs. The Indian ministers often apply to these English ones, for their advice about instructing their flocks; and some of our English preachers do constantly spend every Lord's Day with the Indian Assemblies, having taken charge of them. How the ordinary congregations of the Indians are inclined, may appear from a letter of Mr. Samuel Danforth now before us, dated not many weeks ago, viz. in the year 1705, he says, "They met me at

Little Compton, about two months since, to hear me preach; had you been there to see how well they filled up their seats, with what gravity they behaved themselves, what attention they gave, what affection they showed, how powerfully Paw-quaschise an Indian prayed, (I put him to pray, having never before heard him, and being willing to have some trial of his abilities, in order to approbation for his office) how melodiously Jonathan George, another Indian, set the tune for the Psalm, and carried it out, and how dextrously the young lads of twelve years of age could turn to the proofs thro' the sermon, and how thankful they were to me that I should take so much much pains, as to come so far from home to preach to them; I am sure you would have been much affected with it." There are some of their congregations advanced to all the privileges of an evangelical church-state, enjoying all special ordinances; more will be quickly gathered. They have pastors and elders of their own, ordained sometimes by the hands of Indian ministers in presence of the English, all after our manner in New-England: and by admonitions and excommunications publicly dispensed, they proceed against scandalous offenders, when any such are found among them.

"We shall also insert an extract of a letter from Mr. Josiah Torrey, an hopeful young man, who has learned the Indian tongue, and begins to preach to them in their own language. He says, "Their gravity and diligent attendance in time of worship, with the affectionate confessions of such as are admitted into the church, makes me hope, that many of them have the work of the Spirit

spirit wrought in them, according to the mighty power of God. Their method, respecting those who are admitted into church communion, is more according to the manner of the churches in the primitive times, than is now practised in most parts. The person to be admitted, stands forth in the midst of the assembly, and first makes declaration of his knowledge, and sometimes desires information in things arduous and doubtful; then he makes a confession of sin, which they do, as I have seen, with tears and trembling, as in Acts xvi. and then gives account of convictions, experiences, and comforts, in which they are large and particular. After much counsel and exhortation given by their pastor to remain steadfast, they are admitted. I would hope, that additions are made to the church daily of such as shall be saved. There are many of them who maintain a Christian conversation, and are to be accounted not almost, but altogether Christians. This does encourage the preaching of the gospel to them, when we see it pleases God to make it his power unto salvation.

“As to the manner of performing stated exercises of religion among the Indians, there needs no other account, but that they are conformable to the English, as has been above narrated, and as taught by their apostle Elliot, whose name is of wonderful authority still among them. The rules he gave them for forms of marriage, for admonitions, and excommunications, are not to be found fault with by any, but it will provoke them; they think it strange, if any neglect to pray in their families morning and evening, and call them Matchet, or wicked men. The Frenchified Indians in the east,

ern parts of this province, have, by their long war upon us, denied us opportunities to Christianize them; the French priests have made them averse to true Christianity. We have been at considerable pains and expence to christianize the Mohegin Indians in Connecticut colony, but they have been obstinate in their Paganism, which has put a stop to our endeavours; which yet we will revive, as soon and as well as we can. A most exemplary Indian minister, whose name is Japhet, has of late made several visits among his countrymen, the Pagan Indians about the Naraganset country, and God has crowned his endeavours with success: we resolve to give him all possible encouragement. We have left no stone unturned, that we might obtain some able and faithful missionaries, for the five nations, that are some hundred of miles distant from us to the westward; all that we have hitherto accomplished is, that we have supported and rewarded, and at this day continue to do, the pains of several Dutch ministers, who proceed as far as they can in communicating the knowledge of God and Christ unto these distant savages; and of late there has been some desirable success of their ministry. The main support we have had for the expensive part of this work, has been from the revenues remitted thither by the Honourable Corporation for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians; the liberalities of pious men among ourselves has also been employed this way; upon many occasions, particular gentlemen in this country have often devised liberal things to promote Christianity among the Indians. The studies of your commissioners are now engaged more particularly, upon the intentions of bringing the Indians

dians into the most compact English circumstances that can be proposed; but this must be a work of time. In the mean while, though we could wish the evangelical work among the Indians had lesser difficulties to clog it, yet we have reason to be glad, that so much Christianity and prosperity does attend it. As the conversion of the natives to our holy religion, was one special thing propounded by these good men who first planted this country, when a waste and vast wilderness; so the salvation of many natives that have been converted unto God, has been richly worth all the pains and costs therein expended." So far concerning propagating Christianity among the Heathens in New England.

Before I conclude the history of what has been done by the English, for propagating the gospel among the Heathen in these last ages, I shall observe, That there is an account of the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, established by the royal charter of king William III. with their proceedings, and hopes of continued progress under the reign of Queen Anne, printed at London in 1706. Where we find, that there was an ordinance of Parliament in July 1649, for promoting and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ in New-England; that in 1661, king Charles II. did incorporate several persons under the name of the company for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and parts adjacent. In the year 1685^c, Sir Lionel Jenkins, by his last will and testament, gives a foundation for two fellows in Oxford,

^c Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, pag. 7.

Oxford, to take on them the orders of priesthood, and go to sea in his Majesty's fleet, or when called by the Lord Bishop of London, that they go into any of his Majesty's plantations, and there take on them the cure of souls. The honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; by his last will^d, July 18. 1691, "over and above the sum of 300 l. given towards that piety, gives 100 l. more to that corporation for the instruction of poor Indian converts; and, after debts and legacies, appoints the residue of his estate to be laid out, for want of other direction, to charitable uses; he does chiefly recommend the laying out of the greatest part of the same for the advancement and propagation of the Christian Religion among infidels.—And, when, by a codocil, he settled an annual salary for some learned divine, or preaching minister for ever, to preach eight sermons in the year, for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels, he does require, that the said preacher shall be assisting to all companies, and encouraging to them in any undertaking for propagating the Christian religion in foreign parts." The royal charter for erecting the society for propagation of the gospel was dated June 16. 1701^e, with rules for their meetings and procedure, and powers to them to receive subscriptions, and to collect money contributed for the said purpose. The society found the English colonies in America to be extended 1200 miles in length, under ten several governments; but in some of these, there was no provision for ministers, and, in all, fewer than the instruction of the people required; and therefore did

^d Account of the Society for propagating the Gospel, pag. 9. ^e Ibidem. pag. 15.

did send over pastors to exercise their ministry, in such places where they might be most useful. Upon Queen Anne's accession to the throne, in answer to the society's address, "She promised to be always ready to do her part towards promoting and encouraging so good a work." Upon this encouragement, the society sent several divines and students, whose designations we have in the said printed account, to labour in several parts of the English plantations in America, with competent salaries, distributing Bibles and Common-Prayer-Books, and giving several fruits of their bounty, and tokens of respect to other missionaries. They received also accounts from their correspondents, of the success of those they employed among the Indians near New-York, and the Five Nations bordering upon it; and particularly from M. Lyrius and Dellijs, two Dutch pastors, who laboured in that work. Tho', after all, the vagrant rambling condition of the Indians, the arts of the French Jesuits among them, and the innate prejudices these natives have against the English for unjust encroachments upon their lands, (which makes them not stand to say, "They cannot believe we wish them a place in heaven, when we deny them a place upon earth;" with other things of that nature) do very much obstruct the success of so good a work.

Mean time 'tis proper to observe, that the English have a great trade in the East-Indies, and many forts, factories, and settlements there. Queen Elizabeth granted the first patent for erecting that East-India Company, on the 31st of Dec. 1600; the

the charter itself may be seen in Mr. Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. I: and several other charters granted to that Company, by King Charles, and James II. and to the new East-India Company by King William III. with the heads of agreement between the two Companies, and the charter of settlement granted upon the said agreement, in the appendix to Vol. II^a. By the by, that Collection of Mr. Harris's is, a great and very valuable work, but has very little in it, so far as I have observed, concerning the propagation of Christianity. There we have the journals and narratives of the English East-India merchants, admirals, and officers, from the first erection of that company to the year 1620, Ormus on the coast of Persia was taken from the Portuguese by the English, on the 25th of April 1622, where they have a great trade. They have also a noble settlement at Surat, at Fort St. George, and a rich trade in the gulf of Bengala, and in the port and island of Bombay, (which came into the hands of the king of England, by the marriage of Queen Catharine of Portugal, and King Charles II. gave it to the East-India¹ Company) and in several other places of the East Indies; but have been stripped of Amboyna in the year 1618, and of their trade and settlements in the Banda islands in the year 1616^k, by the Dutch, and thereby deprived of the trade of nutmegs, cloves, mace, and some others of that kind. But my design does not oblige me to enlarge upon these affairs relating

¹ Harris's Collection, Vol I pag. 57. & seq. ² Ibid Vol II Appendix, pag. 45.—56 ³ Of the governors of Bombay, their conduct and severities, particularly of Mr. Child, see Captain Hamilton's new account of the East-Indies, Vol. I. chap. 17—20. and of Fort St. George, see *ibid* chap. 29.
^k Harris's Collection, Vol. I. pag. 189.

relating to commerce; it appears, that in these forts and settlements the English have had good opportunities to promote Christianity among the Heathen, and to overthrow Paganism; but what they have done in this important affair has not occurred to me, and I dare not insert any thing in this history without sufficient vouchers. They seem of late to have this matter more at heart, as appears by a letter of the reverend Mr. Stevenson, chaplain to the East-India Company, which shall be afterward noticed.

I go now to discourse of the propagation of Christianity by the Dutch: but before I enter upon that subject, 'tis proper to observe, how, and at what time they obtained so large territories as they now possess in the East-Indies. In order to this, we must look to the reign of Philip II. king of Spain, he having seized Portugal in the year 1580, and annexed the same to the Crown of Spain, he and his successors continued to possess it to the year 1640, and thereby had a pretended right to all the Portuguese conquests in the Indies. The Dutch having thrown off the Spanish yoke in the Netherlands, and being about that time at war with this king Philip, in defence of their religion and liberties, the Spaniards cut off their trade to the several ports of Spain, seized and clapt up their merchants in prisons and gallies, and confiscated their goods and effects wherever they could find them. In this situation of affairs, the Dutch conceived, that by the trade of the East-Indies they might enrich themselves and weaken their enemies, by depriving them of that treasure that supported the war: to this end, they established an East-India Company in the year 1597.

Manuel

Manuel di Faria speaks of their first attempts with a kind of indignation, saying¹, "About this time came first into India, the scourge of the Portuguese pride and covetousness; for in the month of September, news were brought to Goa, that the two first Holland ships which durst cut those seas, had been in the port of Titangone, and were bound for the island Sunda." These two ships were afterwards destroyed by the Portuguese; yet this loss did not hinder the Dutch in the following year to set out a squadron of eight ships under their admiral Cornelius Neque of Amsterdam, who made a prosperous voyage. A great many more successful voyages and settlements of the Dutch may be read in Mr. Harris's complete collection of voyages and travels^m. In short, they obtained great factories, colonies, forts, and settlements in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, the Moluccoes, Banda, and other islands; yea, extended their trade even to the isles of Japan, and engrossed almost the whole trade of nutmegs, cloves, mace, spices, and many other fine things to themselves.

In these large settlements, I wish I could give a full account of what they have done to propagate Christianity, and overthrow Paganism. If what I am to offer, after some enquiry, be lame, 'tis for want of better information.

I find in Ephraim Paget's *Christianography*ⁿ, That the company of the East-Indies, under the States of the Netherlands, have divers plantations, as in Batavia, a city built by them in Java Major, where they have three churches, in two of which are sermons preached in the Dutch tongue; and in

¹ Portuguese Asia, tom. 3. pag. 96. ^m Vol. I. from pag. 189.—224.

ⁿ Christianography, in Folio, pag. 273. printed at London, 1674.

in the other, in the Malacca or native language. In Amboyna they have one church, and two ministers serving in it. In the isle of Herisoria, there is one church and one minister in it. In the isles of Banda, as particularly in the isle Nero, one church, and one minister. In Moluvo, three churches and ministers serving in them. In Makijon one. In Tidore one. In the coast of Coromandel, and in Palipatan one. In Surat, under the emperor of Mogul, one. Moreover, in China, and in the isle of Formosa, and in the isle of Trywan, one as before. In Sincan one. In Japan they have one minister, and one church. Moreover, the said company maintaineth in East-India seven schools, in which, the children of Pagans that resort thither, have a pound of rice a day allowed them for their maintenance.

In the isle of Formosa, Mr. Robert Junius, sometime of Delphit in Holland, was nominated by the honoured senate of the United Provinces, for the conversion of the Indians in that island; who accordingly undertook the charge, went over to the place, bestowed much pains in laying the ground-work and principles of religion among them, so as, of persons grown up to years of discretion in that isle, five thousand nine hundred of both sexes gave their names to Christ, who professing their faith, and giving proper answers to questions propounded out of the word of God, were baptized by him. He appointed school-masters to instruct others, and gained six hundred scholars to read and write; he collected the chief heads of religion, and composed several prayers, and translated certain psalms into the Formosan language. This was done mostly in the northern

northern parts of the island; in the southern part he also planted churches in twenty-three towns, and promoted the worship of the true God, among them. At last, having set divers pastors over them, being grown weak and unserviceable in body, and desiring to see his aged mother, and native country, he returned home*.

The learned John Leusden, professor of Hebrew at Utrecht, about the end of the last century, produceth several letters from his correspondents, which give the following account of the propagation of Christianity by the Dutch in the East Indies. Mr. Herman Specht, minister of the gospel at Colombo, writes, "That in the kingdom of Jassanapatnam, under which Manaar is comprehended, but even Manaar being excepted, there are, according to the last computation, and the list thence sent to us, one hundred forty-one thousand four hundred and fifty-six Christians, who have five pastors to take care of them." The same Mr. Specht, in another letter, bearing date at Colombo, January 6th, 1688, says, "The number of converted Indians, who have embraced Christianity, is in the space of four years greatly increased; for the kingdom of Jassanapatnam, subject only to the Dutch East India Company, hath two hundred seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine inhabitants: Among whom there are Indians professing to be Christians one hundred eighty thousand three hundred and sixty-four." In another letter it is said, "The state of the church is the same as when I wrote formerly; the Malabar youths, who are trained up in

* Turner's History of remarkable Providences, chap. 62. p. 73. † Vide Maffricht's Theologica Theo-Practica, p. 1054 —

in the college, are diligent, and make good progress in learning the Dutch tongue; so as in the space of one year they are able to read and write in that language, and to repeat their prayers and questions out of Vorstius's catechism, and to translate them from Dutch into Malabaric: they also sing psalms in our church. I hope God will give them his grace, and fill them with his holy Spirit, so as these youths in due time may be blessed instruments to propagate his name among the Heathens." I heartily wish all this may be true. Mean time, we may remark with Mr. Mather, that one of the Indians, converted in New England, hath cost them more pains than a great number that have been thus gained by the Dutch.

By a letter from Mr. Adrian May, minister of the gospel, and prefect of the seminary at Jassapatnam, dated the 22d of January 1692, and by another letter from Mr. Francis Valentine of Dort, minister at Amboyna, dated there, June 4th, 1686, we are informed, "That not only is there so remarkable a conversion of the Indians in Ceylon, but also in Amboyna, many both Mahometans and Gentiles turn Christians; for, says he, it pleased God to send me to Amboyna in the East Indies; in the chief city there, Cornelius Vander Sluyts, of Utrecht, who is not unknown to you, told me, that he did feed with the word of God thirty thousand persons, who by his ministry had been reclaimed from Mahometanism and Paganism, so as at one time, about one hundred infants were baptized, who, when they come to years, do give laudable evidence of their diligence and piety. Here religion and learning in schools does flourish; God is known and worshipped among the Heathens;

Heathens; so as leaving the deities their fathers served, the poor superstitious people of Amboyna acknowledge the true God, and worship him. Yea, the Mahometans seek to be baptized, and cheerfully offer themselves to Christ, and do not refuse to obey his laws." For these accounts we are obliged to the learned Mr. Leusden, let us see what we can learn from others.

In a curious and valuable collection of learned treatises, printed lately at Amsterdam, in several volumes, the title whereof you have at the bottom of the page^a, we have a letter to John Tseetfi, by Jacob Vischer, where he writes, "That in the island of Sumatra, as big as Germany, and at the castle of Badan, where he was employed to administer sacraments, and well rewarded for his pains, there being many to be baptized, who gave him great gifts, they did not receive the Lord's Supper but once in two years, and to them he was very acceptable: he learned many to read and pray; he ordained deacons and elders; provided golden cups for administering the communion, and got teachers to instruct youth from the neighbouring isles. He says, ships full of Heathens come here, who willingly receive the Christian religion, bringing gifts in gold and precious stones, which on their knees they offer to ministers of the gospel. This Country, adds he, may be called the Ophir of Solomon, for here is plenty of gold," &c. The letter bears date at Batavia in the East Indies, the 21st of May 1718.

In another volume of the same learned collection, we have another letter from the same laborious

^a Bibliotheca Historico Philologico-Theologica, Classis Tertia, p. 217, & seq.—

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horious Jacob Vischer¹, concerning the present state of Religion in the East Indies, where are many things which regard the condition of Paganism in those countries; which I here pass, because I have insisted upon them in the former chapter. He observes, "That in the East-Indian islands, as in Sumatra, Java, and Celebes, where the kingdom of Macassar is of greatest power, the Mahometan religion prevails, which cannot be easily rooted out of their minds, who are too much addicted to carnal pleasures; and also the empire of the Great Mogul, Persia, and some adjacent places are infected with that sect. But in the territories which border upon the sea, the most part are Heathen idolaters; of whom the principal are, Malacca, Siam, Bengala, Coromandel, Malabar, and Guzaratta, or Cambodiaa.

"But if we look to the state of the Protestant reformed religion, this prevails, says he, in these countries where our Dutchmen have power. And in no place will we find more Christians, than in the isles of Amboyna, Cariophyllophro, Banda, Myristica, Ternate, and the neighbouring Moluccoes, in which the greater part of strangers are converted to the true God. In Batavia there are many Christians, whose number, with those in the neighbouring cities and villages, exceeds 100,000. Here is the seat, here the empire of the Hollander, and of the governor of all the Dutch East-Indies; who exceeds many kings in power and authority in kingdoms and dominions. Here are rich houses and palaces, most pleasant gardens, and an immense treasure of riches, with which few cities

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¹ Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica, Classis Quinta, Amstelodami 1721, p. 715—724.

in Europe can compare. Here are two churches, where are sermons in the Dutch; two in the Portuguese, and two in the Malaic tongue, which is a daughter of the Arabic. Here are twelve, and sometimes more pastors of the word, each of them having a stipend of 225 florins a-month; whereas others out of Holland, have only 200. In the island of Ceylon, that produces abundance of cinnamon, the number of Christians of the reformed religion daily increases; without doubt, there are some hundred thousands of them there, who have given their names to Christ."

There is but one other passage in this letter, that I shall take notice of: Mr. Vischer, speaking of the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar, of whom we have discoursed more fully in the former chapter, says, "That the Portuguese being Papists, after they had conquered so large territories in the East-Indies, were abhorred by these Christians, yet they did draw some of them by force, others by rewards unto their side; till at last, the Dutch, having overcome the Portuguese, and expelled them out of that country, allowed the Christians of St. Thomas free liberty to exercise their own religion, which does for most part agree with the reformed: for they do not worship images; they deny transubstantiation; they give to laics wine mixed with water in the Lord's supper; and assert the marriage of the priests is lawful. Some of them are Nestorians, others are Eutychians, and most of them affirm the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father. The number of these Christians in Malabar, exceeds 100,000 persons, of whom many are rich merchants." This letter is dated at Cochin, the last of October 1720.

We

We have distinct accounts of the propagation of the gospel among the Heathens in the East-Indies, by the Danish missionaries; their zeal and piety deserves commendation, and may be a pattern to those who shall afterward travel in the like work: and therefore, though the papers concerning this affair be in several hands, yet I shall here give an abstract of them.

The first account I have seen thereof, is in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Propagation of the Gospel in the East*; translated from high Dutch, and printed at London in 1709, where we find, that in the year 1705, Frederick IV. king of Denmark, after he had considered a motion made him by one of his chaplains, resolved upon sending some missionaries to Tranquebar, situate on the coast of Coromandel in the East-Indies, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar Heathens. In order to this, he made application to the professors of divinity in Hall, a most flourishing university, to supply his Majesty with such persons as should be thought fit to undertake a design of that importance. Mr. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and Mr. Henry Plutschow resolved to go upon so difficult an errand; for so it might be looked upon, considering how little had been done hitherto by Protestants, and what untrodden paths and unknown difficulties, they might be obliged to press through. The design did not end with these two; the harvest being great, so few hands could not manage it. Three more missionaries were sent after them, who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, in April 1709. But the two already named, embarked at Copenhagen, November 29, 1705, and arrived at the said Cape, the 23d of April following. Thence they departed, with many fervent wishes of such

as were friends to the design, and, after many hardships, landed at Tranquebar in the East-Indies, on the 9th of July 1706. While they were aboard their ship, they applied themselves to the study of the Portuguese and Malabaric languages, the former being of as extensive use as the latter, in the East Indies. The missionaries being arrived, by the help of a Malabar who had served the East-India company, and was skilled in the European languages, they acquired such skill, as to be able to preach both in the Portuguese and Malabar tongues. One Modalipa, a Malabar gentleman, was their first convert from Paganism, and after him, two others, whom they took into their service, who were willing to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; and in a little time they baptized five Heathens in the Danish church.

By the way we may observe, that Tranquebar^c, where the missionaries laboured, has been in the hands of the Danes these 80 years, and is by them considerably improved; it was but a small village, but it is now a populous town, surrounded with strong walls, and provided with a good Fortaleza, or citadel. There are three Christian churches in it, a Danish church for the use of that nation, the Jerusalem church, for the converted Malabarians; and another belonging to the Papists. There is besides, a large mosque built by the Mahometans, and five huge pagods frequented by the Malabar Heathens. Some of the adjacent towns and villages, fifteen in number, are subject to the Danish government. The largest of these is Borejar, containing almost as many inhabitants as Tranquebar itself,

^c Propagation of the gospel in the East, part 3 pag. 2.

itself, and Tilliar, a fine large town; the rest of the villages are not so populous. Thro' all these, the Danish missionaries preached the gospel.

Another pamphlet, giving an account of the progress of these missionaries, is printed in the year 1710. They gain' more and more ground among the Heathens in Malabar; God opened a door to speak the mysteries of Christ, though his servants meet with a deal of opposition. However, their congregation is increased at present, to above one hundred; and they have hopes, that there will be a considerable addition in a short time. They tell us, that the Malabarians did not only resort from very distant places, to hear the word preached in their own language, but had also many private conferences with the Christian missionaries, upon the subject of the salvation of their souls. Mr. Ziegenbalg, who is the greatest proficient in the Malabar tongue, has sent over several treatises composed by himself in that language, bearing the following titles: *Twenty-six Sermons preached at Jerusalem church, upon all the articles of the Christian religion. A draught of the examination of such as are to be baptized. A book of Psalms, usually sung in our Churches.* As for the outside of these books, they are of a quite different dress from those in Europe; there is neither paper nor leather, pen nor ink made use of; the characters, by the help of iron tools are impressed on a sort of leaves of a certain tree, much like a palm-tree; at the end of every leaf a hole is made, and through the hole a string is drawn, whereby they are kept together, but must be untied, whenever the prints

of these characters are to be read. The missionaries designed to solicit the king of Tanjour, for liberty to travel freely in his dominions, and to preach the gospel of Christ to such of the Heathens as are willing to receive it^u; but were obliged to lay aside this design, being informed, that no such address will be received, except it be accompanied with great gifts and presents, which they are not able to offer. But they entered on a journey to Madras, January 7, 1710, when Mr. Ziegenbalg's congregation were afraid of his leaving of them, they intreated him with tears in their eyes not to quit them, but to return as soon as possible, which he promised to do. Last New-year's day, he wrote a pretty long letter to the Heathens in Malabar, laying down the most proper means for their real conversion to God, and inviting them to espouse the interest of their souls, while it was brought so near their doors: he transcribed copies of this letter, and dispersed the same among the Heathens, with the gospel of St Matthew; and a small treatise containing the *Principles of Christianity*, presenting it even to the Bramins, and talking with the Heathen about these things, almost every hour. But I cannot enlarge on all the particulars.

The same author also informs us^v, that their new planted congregation at Tranquebar is increasing under the gracious influence of God, tho' in its very infancy surrounded with various oppositions and persecutions, the common attendants of the gospel of Christ. "Our whole congregation, says he, both of those who are actually baptized,

^u Propagation of the gospel, &c part 2. pag. 19.
pag. 28.

^v Ibidem, part 2.

baptized, and the Catechumens, or those who are yet instructed in the principles of Christianity, is increased to about 160 persons. Our Malabaric school is in very great forwardness, and provided with an able master, who, before his conversion to Christianity, was one of the most able and famous poets and schoolmasters at Tranquebar. His conversion caused a great alarm among the Heathens, who never expected any such thing; but now all is quiet again. We have begun to set up some manufactories, which, we hope, may prove in time beneficial to the main work we are carrying on, if we are powerfully supported by our superiors. I do not question but hundreds of Heathens would have been initiated into Christianity by this time, but these supports being wanting, we endeavour the more to bring the few that are entered into the lists of our religion, to a more solid and experimental taste thereof. But above all things, I must tell you, what taketh me most, is the education of the Malabar children here. They are of a good promising temper, being not yet prepossessed with so many head-strong prejudices against Christianity. They are sooner wrought upon into a sense of the fear of God. Certainly we look on our youth as a stock and nursery, from whence, in time, plentiful supplies may be drawn, for enriching our Malabaric church, with such members as may prove a glory and ornament to the Christian religion. It is true, there are but few of the grown Heathens, who are willing to be baptized into the name of Christ, and yet there is always a concourse of people attending our sermons, and other parts of divine service; and doubtless, many return with strong convictions left

left upon their minds: all this gives me a fair prospect of gaining a larger door for the word in process of time." He says also, that the English, at Fort St. David, have been very encouraging to this noble design. He adds, the Roman Catholic missionaries have made a wonderful progress, and continue to over-run the country; but since their chief design is to make proselytes to a party, such as fall under their management, are left in the utmost darkness and ignorance, without receiving the least tincture of real inward piety and conversion. At this rate, "they go astray like lost sheep," and remain altogether strangers to the grand mysteries of salvation; nor do their priests take the least pains of training them up to a competent knowledge of divine things, but suppose they have sufficiently answered the character of a missionary, whenever the poor Heathens have learned some external customary formalities of the church of Rome; and after this manner they convert numbers of Pagans in a little time, and with less labour.

In the year 1709², every thing was very scarce and dear in that country, so as many Malabars died for want of necessaries, others sold themselves for slaves. The Portuguese church there, being very numerous, took hold of this opportunity, and bought about fourscore and one persons, being sold from twenty to thirty Fano, or from eight to sixteen shillings English money. The Pater Vicarius appointed a solemn day for baptizing all these at once, when they went in procession, attended with Malabar drums and flutes, as used in the

¹ Propagation of the gospel in the East, part 2. pag. 32.
pag 34.

² Ibidem.

the Heathen pagods, and were baptized without one question asked of them. Our author met with a Bramin, who had been baptized four years before that, by these popish missionaries, and yet knew nothing of Christianity, but that he was sprinkled with water; yea, carried still about with him the usual badge whereby these Pagan priests distinguish themselves from the common people, which is a little heathenish idollet, fastened before their breasts; he also anointed his breast and forehead after the way of these Pagan priests, with an ointment made of ashes and cow-dung, and other filthy ingredients. This is the sorry conversion of Heathens by the popish missionaries; such converts will be poor ornaments to the church.

In a third pamphlet, under the same title, *Propagation of the gospel in the East*, printed at London in 1714, we have a further account of this good work. The missionaries set up a charity school for advancing their design; they picked up a few Malabar boys, and laid the foundation of the school, in 1706^a; to engage the Heathen as much as possible, they not only instructed their children gratis, but also provided many of them with food and raiment, as their exigence required. This, in the very infancy of the design, could not but leave a good impression upon the grown Heathens, who hardly ever before had seen any such thing as love among Christians, except it were that love which they usually place in the riches and treasures of India. As this sort of love is too obvious, from the conduct of Christians in these parts, so it has disgraced the best of religions to a prodigy, and rendered the name of a Christian scandalous to

^a Propagation of the gospel in the East, part. 3. pag. 11, &c.

to a proverb. The missionaries erected one Malabar, and one Portuguese school, sharing the management of these schools betwixt them: when the number of scholars increased, they were assisted by ushers. One of the most expensive branches of the whole undertaking was, the transcribing of books for the use of their schools; they sometimes employed four, five, or six Kanakappel, or transcribers, as the exigence of the work did require, and their circumstances allowed: they neglected not any opportunity of conversing with Heathens come to age, about the state of their souls, and the eternal truths of the Christian faith; but found them bigotted to their Pagan superstitions. Some attended out of curiosity, some from a view to temporal interest, and some did make a step toward Christianity, but were soon shaken on the approach of any suffering, and started back to Paganism. Some were highly pleased when they heard the missionaries talk of the contempt of the world, and of a reformation of manners; but as soon as they touched the grand article of Jesus Christ, and upon Baptism, as the first inlet to a spiritual life, they flinched from it, and said, "They could be happy without all this." As for the adult Heathens, who were willing to be initiated by baptism into the Christian faith, they are carefully instructed for some months together before that sacrament is administered to them, that so the missionaries may discover at least the operation of the Spirit of God working within, and inspiring them with a hearty desire to submit to the rules of the gospel. We must suppose the devil, as the god of this world, has an extraordinary power in these vast Pagan dominions, benighted for so many

ages with heathenish darkness, superstition and idolatry; so as they are thereby become a cage of unclean birds, and a receptacle of demons and wicked spirits. This is perhaps the reason, that some of the Catechumens are now and then haunted by most terrible temptations, the enemy of souls terrifying them one time with diabolical visions, and at another, with frightful suggestions offered to the mind from within; so unwilling he is to quit one of his wonted palaces! and this usually befalls them much about the time of their approaching baptism.

The missionaries erected a church, and consecrated it in August 1707, in presence of a numerous company of Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, who had a sermon preached to them, both in the Malabaric and Portuguese language. By the way it may be observed, that nothing of a picture or image must be seen in any church designed for the benefit of the Heathens, for fear of giving offence to the Malabarians, the images of their gods being from their childhood so deeply impressed on their brain, the very sight of a picture is enough to bring their former image-worship into their memory. Thus it happened, a Malabarian coming into a Danish church at Tranquebar, and spying the image of a Lion there, he lifted up his hands, and very devoutly made his Schalam, or religious bow, supposing it to be an idol of the Christians, set up there for religious worship and adoration. The scandalous corrupt life of Christians residing in the East Indies many years, their earthly-mindedness, and excess of covetousness, makes our holy religion a stench in the nostrils of these Heathens, which

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is not to be worn out, by a contrary practice of a more heavenly life and conversation. Francis Xavier, called by the Papists, the apostle of the Indies, found the city of Goa abounding with such flagrant sins and enormities, that he was fain to lay aside for a time his thoughts of converting the Heathen, and to attempt first the conversion of his own countrymen, who lived more like idolaters than Christians^b. Joseph Acoſta, who laboured for 15 years together in the conversion of the inhabitants of Peru, in the West-Indies, confesses, "He did not find any impediment more obstructive to the propagation of the gospel, than the impiety of the Christians^c, and their scandalous practices." Another obstacle, whereby Heathens are debarred from the religion of Christ, is the great uncharitableness of Christians to the converts of their religion; this is chiefly by the conduct of Roman Catholics in these parts. Abundance of profelytes brought over by them to the church of Rome, are, after their baptism, left in such pinching straits, as obliges them to beg their bread. The Malabars are offended at the sight of this; they say, "It were but reasonable Christians should provide for those who are become profelytes to their religion, and not leave them to perish in want and misery. What adds no small weight to the affliction of new converted Heathens, is the persecution they suffer from their own countrymen as soon as they embrace Christianity; every one that turns Christian is banished immediately from all that he hath, (except he himself be the head of a family) and utterly

Xavier's Life, book 2. p. 92. & seq. Englished by Dryden.
de procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 2. cap. 18. pag. mihi 247.

^c Acoſta

terly abandoned by his friends and relations; yea, he must expect no favour from any Malabarian whatsoever.

Since an exact knowledge of the Malabar divinity is necessary, to refute and raze the foundation of their idolatrous worship, Mr. Ziegenbalg purchased a good many books wherein it is contained and applied himself to that study. I have given a little taste of it in the former chapter of this history^d, and shall not now insist upon it.

But what tended in a special manner to advance this good design of propagating Christianity among the Heathen in that country was, the printing of the Malabar New Testament, which was begun October 1708, and ended in March 1711. About the latter end of that year 1250 copies of the New Testament in Portuguese were printed off: the missionaries settled a correspondence with the Honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge at London; and the said society did very charitably send them a printing-press, with all necessary utensils, 600 weight of types, 100 reams of paper, with other valuable contributions; and one Mr. Jonas Fink, a native of Silesia, did go to the East-Indies to be their printer. With this assistance, a good many little books were printed for the use of the Malabaric school, and the converted Heathens in these parts. The titles of these books are to be seen in the said pamphlet^e.

The packet of letters from these parts, in September 1712, and in January 1713, gives account, that in the Malabaric and Portuguese churches, there

^d Above, p. 69.—76.

^e Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 3. p. 47, & 48.

there were, in January 1713, of persons baptized 207, and Catechumens prepared for baptism 26. In the five charity schools were 78 children, of whom 59 were clothed and maintained upon the public expence, and some persons employed in preparing food for them, and doing other services about the churches and schools. The missionaries hope, that in a little time some of the more advanced scholars in the Malabaric school, will be fit to be employed in the quality of school-masters, catechists, and transcribers.

There is another pamphlet, giving an account of the religion, government and œconomy of the Malabarians, sent by the Danish missionaries to their correspondents in Europe, translated from High Dutch, and printed at London in 1717. The whole is pleasing and edifying, by way of question and answer. But I shall only notice a few queries. "Question II." "Have you discovered some true workings of grace in the souls of these Catechumens? Are you sure there is more in their conversion than a bare external compliance with, and verbal confession of the Christian doctrine? What proofs and indications have you of an inward work of grace? Answer. After the gospel of Christ has begun to be preached to this Heathen world, many commotions have been observed among Heathens, Mahometans, and popishly affected Christians. Before we began to preach here, every one thought himself safe in his wonted way of religion, without any doubt about his future salvation; but after we have begun to call in question the goodness of their religion, and alarmed them into some doubts and apprehensions, many have

[†] Of the religion, &c. of the Malabarians, p. 46. & seq.

have exclaimed against us, and loaded our labour with lies and calumnies; others have been so far convinced, as to own, they stand in need of a thorough conversion, and been willing to discourse with us more at large about their better concerns; but then they have suffered themselves to be diverted from so good a design by the cunning of Satan. Others of the Heathen have agreed with us in many points, and have approved of whatever is written in the word of God concerning a holy and virtuous life; but then they have refused the name of Christians, pretending, they could be saved without all this. Some at last have been entirely convinced of the necessity of believing on Christ, and of being baptized in his holy name, and have fully complied with these terms. However, before their admission to so sacred an ordinance, they have been faithfully instructed in the most necessary articles of our religion, especially about the nature of faith in Christ, and true repentance preceding it. Whenever we found so saving a change in some degree upon their minds, attended with a hearty desire to be admitted to baptism, we then made no further delay in administering it to them, for fear of giving their friends occasion to obstruct the design, and by the craft of the devil, to make them return to Heathenism, as it has happened to some: yet none have ever been admitted to baptism, without previous instruction in the principles of the catechism for two or three months together.—None of these Catechumens but has had his share both of outward afflictions and inward temptations, during that time wherein he was prepared for baptism. When baptized, we must leave them to

to the powerful operation of the good Spirit of God, and thank the Lord for so promising a beginning he has hitherto granted to our weak endeavours, in rescuing some from heathenish errors and superstitions, particularly in the midst of so many impediments that surround us on all hands.

“ Question III. ^s What method do you observe in preaching and administering the sacraments? Answer. When I first began to preach in Malabaric, I did always chuse such a sentence of scripture as treated upon an article of faith, and this I explained in an easy doctrinal manner. According to this method I preached 25 sermons, and therein I opened, as well as I could, the principal branches of our holy religion. Afterwards being straitened in time, I could not set down any longer my sermons at large, but was fain to preach without the help of such notes. However, I did earnestly meditate upon every point I was to propose, that I might deliver it in a good connexion, and with all plainness—expounding the text, and then applying it by way of instruction, correction, consolation, &c. My fellow labourer has hitherto preached on the gospels in the Portuguese tongue, and in that language he catechises every week. In the administration of the holy communion, we follow the liturgy of the church of Denmark; every one that intends to receive the sacrament must give notice of it eight days before, during this time he is every day catechised one hour, admonished, and duly prepared for worthy receiving that

that ordinance. Baptism is likewise administered conformable to that ritual.

“Question IV^b. Do the new converted make their confession before they are admitted to the communion? Answer. In externals, as we hinted before, we follow the ritual of the church of Denmark, on purpose to prevent the frivolous aspersions of those who would insinuate, as if we ordered every thing by our own head and fancy;—though we do not think it convenient to introduce in India every little circumstance that may be innocently used in Europe. Thus, we durst never conform to the wearing of a crucifix drawn on the top of the surplice, as the custom is in some churches of Europe; for should we use this, the Heathens would certainly take the crucifix as an idol, and worship it.—For this reason we altogether abstain from all manner of pictures and images, which in other countries may be more inoffensively used, than among the Heathens in India. All other rites and ceremonies are ordered in such a manner as may prove to edification. As for confession, in particular, it gives us a fair opportunity to discourse our people about the state of their souls, and to stir them up upon that occasion, to the unfeigned practice of true religion.”

The fourth volume of letters, concerning the Propagation of Christianity by the Danish missionaries, is not yet published, so far as I know. I writ this in August 1723; but by several letters printed at London in the year 1720, it appears, that the said missionaries wrote to our present sovereign King George the following letter.

VOL. VIII.

X

To

^b Of the religion of the Malabarians,—pag. 53.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

Most Serene, most Potent, and most Gracious King and Lord.

“ **I**T is not unknown to your Majesty, that God hath inclined the heart of his Danish Majesty, King Frederick IV. graciously to begin the propagation of the gospel among the Heathen in the East Indies, with the management whereof we, the unworthy servants and dispensers of the word of God, are intrusted; and, according to the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon us from above, we endeavour, with all diligence and fidelity, both by preaching and writing, to promote the conversion of the Gentiles.

“ There are many pious and learned gentlemen in your Majesty’s kingdoms, who take great pleasure in this work, and have seconded it in the best manner, both by their good advice and assistance; and your Majesty having been graciously pleased to permit Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, one of the underwritten missionaries, when at London last year, with all humility to give your Majesty a verbal account of the whole undertaking, we cannot but entertain good hopes from thence, that your Majesty will receive with some satisfaction, from the midst of the Heathen in this country, our joyful acknowledgments for the favourable inclinations your Majesty was pleased to express towards

towards the work of conversion carried on among them.

“Among all the crowned heads of the Protestant powers, your Majesty, by means of the large extensive commerce your subjects are engaged in with other nations, hath the fairest opportunity of publishing the gospel of Christ in divers languages, among those that do not believe it, and thereby to promote the conversion of the Heathen: and it is not a small number of your Majesty's subjects, as well those of the first rank, as others in a lower station, who heartily espouse the Propagation of the Gospel, and promoting Christian Knowledge. These considerations make us hope, that your Majesty, being firmly seated on your royal throne, and having reduced the rebels to submission and obedience, will be more at leisure to regard and lay to heart the spreading of the saving Gospel of Christ in the Pagan world. This will not only render your name immortal among the evangelical churches, but will also be accompanied with a continual blessing in this life, and an eternal reward in that which is to come. As we desire hereby to return our most humble acknowledgements, for the great assistance received from your Majesty's subjects of Great-Britain, towards carrying on this work in the Heathen world; so we do further most humbly beseech your Majesty, to have this most Christian design in most gracious remembrance, and to continue to favour both the mission, and us who are engaged in it.

“We wish your Majesty, and all the Royal Family of Great Britain, a plentiful effusion of divine grace,
and

and all temporal blessings, with a happy and prosperous government: and continue with the greatest submission,

Written at Tranquebar
in the East-Indies,
upon the coast of Co-
romandel, Jan. 2d,
1717.

Most serene, and most gracious
King and Lord, your Ma-
jesty's most humble, and
most obedient servants,
Bartholomew Zeigenbalg.
John Ernest Grundler."

To which letter, our sovereign returned the following gracious answer.

*To the reverend, most learned, our beloved and devout,
Esq. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and John Ernest
Grundler, the Royal Danish Evangelical Mission-
aries at Tranquebar in East-India.*

GEORGE, by the Grace of God, King of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c. Our most gracious will and pleasure be known.

Reverend, most learned, beloved and devout,

"IT is a most acceptable relation you have given us in a letter, dated the 2d of January of this present year, not only because the work of conversion to the Christian faith begun among the Heathen, does, by the grace of God, prosperously advance; but also, that in this our kingdom is shown so much of laudable zeal towards supporting the propagation of the gospel.

"We wish you health and strength long to discharge your function, with a continued happy success:

success: and as we shall be always very well pleased to hear of the progress thereof, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement.

Given at our palace
at Hampton Court
23 Aug. in the
3^d Sept. year of our Lord
1717, and the 4th
year of our reign.

We remain graciously
inclined to you,

GEORGE R."

To this gracious letter, the said missionaries make a suitable return; the tenor whereof follows.

To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

*Most Serene, most Potent, and most Gracious King
and Lord.*

"YOUR Majesty's most gracious letter of the
23 August 1717, came to us on the 4th of
3^d Sept. May following. We received it with the greatest joy imaginable, and were highly comforted and quickened in our zeal for the glory of Almighty God, when we read these your Majesty's most gracious expressions: "As we shall be always well pleased to hear of the happy success and progress of this work, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement." Your majesty hereby most graciously allows us to make a further report of the state of our affairs, and we thence conceive joyful hopes

hopes, that your Majesty will add to the glorious title of a powerful *Defender of the Faith*, the noble character of its zealous promoter; not only by supporting the reign of Jesus Christ in your own dominions, but also by promoting and extending it among the Heathen and Infidels, in the most remote parts of the world. Therefore, after having heartily thanked God Almighty for inclining your Majesty's heart toward so holy a design, and with the profoundest submission acknowledged your Majesty's high favour towards us your unworthy servants; may it please your Majesty to accept of the following account of the state of that work, in which we are employed.

“We the missionaries, on our part are endeavouring, according to the measure of the grace God Almighty has imparted to us, plentifully to spread abroad the seed of the word of God among the Heathens in their own language, there being no other means for touching the hearts of Heathens, in order to their conversion. We also maintain Indians to assist us as catechists, for which function we first prepare them, by instructing them in the saving faith of Jesus Christ, and then send them to propagate it among the Heathens. To such places whither the instruction of the gospel by word of mouth cannot reach, we send our printed Malabarian books, which are read in these parts by many of all sorts and degrees. As we are perfectly sensible, that to promote and perpetuate such an undertaking, a solid foundation must be laid, by translating the holy scriptures, and publishing other instructive books in the language of the country, we did a good while ago, finish and publish a translation of the New-Testament, and
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are now labouring with great application, in translating the Old Testament into the Malabarian and Portuguese languages : besides, we compose every year some books for instructing of the Heathens, containing the fundamentals of the Christian religion ; for better publication of which, the printing press we have received from our benefactors in England, is of great use to us. That our printing press may always be provided with a sufficient quantity of letters, we entertain in the mission persons for cutting moulds, and casting letters, as also for binding books, being furnished every year with the necessary tools and materials from England, by the laudable society for propagating Christian knowledge. To supply the want of paper, we have been at great expence in erecting a paper-mill here. And so under the invocation of the name of God, we plentifully dispense, both by word of mouth and writing, in this Heathen country, the gospel ; which makes a happy impression on the minds of many of the inhabitants. Some indeed, particularly their Bramins or priests, gainsay and scoff ; others come to a sense of the abominations of idolatry, and leave off worshipping their idols ; others are brought to better principles, and shew in their discourse and writing, that they have got a greater light than their forefathers : others again give full assent to all the truths of Christianity, but out of a worldly consideration wave baptism and the name of Christians. But some break through all difficulties, and subduing their reason to the obedience of faith, resolutely profess Christianity ; these are for some time instructed by us and our catechists, and afterwards, when they give true signs of repentance

ance and conversion, are received into the bosom of the Christian church, by holy baptism. These, who are become members of our congregation, we are instructing with all diligence, that Jesus Christ may be framed within them; our private exercises with them are daily catechisings, by sending our catechists to their habitations, to enquire into their way of life, to examine them upon the catechism, to pray with them, and to make a report to us, the missionaries, of what passes among them. To exercise them in praying, we have set hours thrice a week, in which prayers are read to them in private. We give free occasion to every one of them, to communicate to us their concerns. Our public exercises consist in preaching to them, every Sunday in the morning, a sermon in the Malabarian language, and another in the Portuguese; and in the afternoon we catechise in both languages. Besides, we preach a sermon in the High Dutch for the Europeans: every Wednesday we catechise at church in Portuguese; and every Friday in Malabarian. As to the children of either sex that belong to our congregation, we instruct them all in our schools, in the principles of Christianity, reading, writing, and other useful knowledge; they are maintained in every thing at our charge. We have erected a seminary for such as we design for the service of the gospel, to be furnished thence with proper catechists, preceptors and clerks. Such boys as want necessary capacity, we put to learn handicrafts. We have also established schools, one in this town, and another in a populous borough not far off, where they are instructed by Christian tutors, and have full

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full allowance, except victuals and clothes, which their parents find them.

“The Lord having so blessed our labours, that the new planted congregation increases every year; the first church which we built became too narrow, upon which we found it necessary to build one more spacious; and it pleased God to furnish us with means to finish it in two years time; and on the 11th of October last, it was consecrated in the name of the Holy Trinity: and we are now constantly preaching in it in three languages. We have likewise, at the desire of the English who live on this coast, erected two schools, one at Fort St George, and another at Fort St. David. The present governor of Fort St. George is a special friend to the mission, and has lately remitted to it a considerable present. The rest of our friends here have cheerfully supplied our wants this year. The Lord, whose work it is, guide us for the future by his divine providence, and stir up in Europe many promoters among persons of all ranks, that, in these last times, the salvation of the Heathens may be sought with earnestness, and their conversion promoted by the whole Christian church. That our most merciful God may crown your Majesty with all prosperity, is the devout prayers of,

Most serene, and most

gracious King and Lord,

Your Majesty's most humble,
and most obedient servants,

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg.

John Ernest Grundler.

Thus

Tranquebar.

24 November,

3 December,

1718.

Thus I have given an abstract of what offers from printed books and pamphlets, concerning the Propagation of Christianity by the Danish Missionaries. I shall conclude this subject, by observing a passage or two from the printed Newspapers.

By letters to Hall in Saxony¹, we have advice from the East-Indies, by way of England, of the three persons who were lately sent thither, to supply the Protestant mission in the Danish colony at Tranquebar, on the coast of Malabar. Their names are M. Schultze, M. Dahl, and M. Kistenmucher; they set out from hence for England, on the 25th of November 1718; their letters are dated at Madras, a place situate on the said coast, the 31st of July 1719, containing an account, that having sailed from Deal the 19th of March of that same year, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, on the 4th of June following, and at Madras on the 25th of July, 18 weeks after their sailing from England. At Madras, they received a letter from M. Grundler, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, acquainting them, that M. Ziegenbalg his colleague, died there on the 23d of February 1719, and was much lamented, being a person who had acquired exact knowledge in the Malabarian language, and had done great services for promoting Christianity in these parts, as we have already heard.

By other letters from Malabar of October 21st, 1719, we are informed², that for these two years past, the poor Malabarians have been afflicted with war, famine, and pestilence; but have not suffered

¹ Edinburgh Courant, number 216. ² Ibidem, number 231.

ed very much by the former. For as we are at the extremity of the empire of the Mogul, we have been little concerned in the revolutions that happened, and which still continue.—The famine and plague have been more fatal to us than the civil war, and abundance of people have been swept away, which has given us an opportunity to shew our zeal. We have baptized a considerable number of Malabarians, but do not think fit to tell how many, that you may not surmise we follow the example of the Jesuits, who endeavour to deceive mankind, and impose upon them a world of fabulous stories; and we do not design to claim an honour which is due to God alone. We only plant and water, it is God who gives the increase. The Jesuits continue to occasion great disturbances in China; they write, their mission will be lost in a short time; which I easily believe: but they flatter themselves, that if other missionaries are expelled, they will find means to return thither themselves; they continue along these coasts to allow their proselytes the use of the superstitions condemned at Rome, because nobody can oppose them with success."

I have now deduced what has been done towards the Propagation of Christianity in these last ages, by the English, by the Dutch, and by the Danish missionaries, down to the present time; and shall conclude this chapter, with observing some other good things a doing in other parts of the world, and also at home, for propagating and advancing our religion.

If we look into Muscovy, we have lately printed, *A Description of the Manners and Customs of the Ostiaks*, a nation that extends to the Frigid Zone

Zone, in the Russian dominions, by John Barnard Muller ¹, where we have an account of the state of the kingdom of Siberia, and of the original of the Offices, and of their manners and way of life, and absurd kind of heathenish idolatry, which I need not here particularly insist upon. But our author ^m says, "That Father Philotheus being made metropolitan or archbishop of Tobolsky, the metropolis of Siberia, found himself actuated by a zeal of converting the neighbouring nations to the Christian faith. Accordingly he sent missionaries to the Mingrelians, and to their high priest Kutuchta, with two of his own servants, who were to study the language and letters of that nation. This Kutuchta is in high veneration among the nations of Mingrelia, Contasch, Ojuka and Bucharja; he is their pope or high priest, always attended by a number of armed men, and has under him all other Lamas or priests.——He has no fixed residence, but, with his fine tents, and a considerable guard of soldiers, removes where he likes best; he carries his idols, particularly those that are in greatest repute with the people, along with him, and places them in separate tents.——The laudable design of the metropolitan had not all the intended success; for his advanced age made him resolve to resign his archbishopric, and retire into the monastery of Kioff, where he had spent his younger years: but the governor of Siberia, Matfei Petrowitz Gagarin, so far prevailed with him, that he promised to continue for some time longer in the employment, on condition, That he might have leave to convert the Ostiac nation

¹ See the present State of Muscovy, vol. 2. p. 44, to 52, printed in 1723. ^m Ibid. vol. 2. p. 86, & seq.

nation to the Christian religion, pursuant to the intentions his Czarish Majesty had expressed long before. Accordingly he went, attended by several clergymen, to the place where the chief idols stood, and which were most frequented by the people. He represented to them the vanity of the idolatrous worship of wooden images, and directed them how to adore the true living God. But these people, prepossessed with the antiquity of that service, opposed all the metropolitan's endeavours, alledging, That their ancestors had time out of mind, maintained the worship of their Sheitans, and fared well by it; that as for themselves, they were from their childhood brought up to it, and were unwilling to change it for another, which would make them believe the souls of their ancestors to be in a state of damnation, or at best in a very dubious condition. So that at first, they seemed resolved rather to venture upon the last extremities, than to renounce the religion and customs of their forefathers. The beginning of the reformation was made in the year 1712, about Samaroff, where they had the Staryk Ob-
sky, or their fish idol. The people at first were very unwilling to part with their reputed deity, who had supplied them and their forefathers with fishes in abundance, and whom, in their opinion, they could, by ill usage and reproaches hector into a compliance with their demands. However, by degrees, they gave ear to the old metropolitan's reasonings, and the idol was burnt. This was no sooner done, but they shewed a repentance for what they had done, and a desire of returning to their ancient worship again. This was augmented by a deceitful report spread by some,

some, who pretended they had seen the ghost of the idol in the shape of a white swan, rising into the air out of the flames. But as the metropolitan and others contradicted that fiction, and those who had forged it durst not appear to support it, the poor misled people began to give way for their better instruction. Those who lived in more remote parts, shewed still greater obstinacy in forsaking their idolatry. Some priests of their Sheitans, were very active in countenancing the sticklers for the ancient worship, by making them believe, That the idol foretold what would happen eight days before the metropolitan's arrival, and warned them to withstand the attempts of the Christians, which he would certainly baffle and disappoint, by his powerful protection. When the metropolitan arrived among the Gurtées of Shorhow, where they had another such idol, he found the people disposed to stand all extremities, in maintaining their religion. However, the pious zeal and convincing arguments of that man, were of such weight with these people, that they also consented to the burning of their idol. There was one thing which very much contributed to the conversion of those Heathens who live about the monastery of Kotskoy (where there also live a few Russians) viz. The example of one of their Kneeses, Alatscho by name, who derived his descent from the family of the ancient governors of this nation. The metropolitan represented to him the example of the Russian nation, who had likewise but lately been idolaters, but were converted to Christianity, and brought to destroy their idols in the time of Vladimir, who resided at Kiow. This instance made such an impression

pression on Alatscho, that he not only received baptism, but also resolved to take a journey to Kioff, to view the bodies of the saints that are reposed there, free from corruption, in order to be informed of the truth of the thing; and accordingly, immediately after he was baptized, he set out for that city. The season being spent during these transactions, the rigour of the winter obliged the archbishop to return, having had no further success in his design, than that he burnt many idols, and initiated about 10 or 11 souls to Christianity, by Baptism. I must defer till another opportunity, to inform the reader, how in the years 1713 and 1714, about 5000 Ostiaks were baptized; it happening by a particular providence, that the greater part of that nation were then assembled; the gathering of whom, out of the forests and desarts, would otherwise have been a work of ten years at least."

The above account of John Bernard Muller, tho' printed this present year, yet it was written originally by the author, a Swedish captain of dragoons, in his captivity, in the year 1716. I take the following paragraph of a news-paper, to be a continuation of the same conversion of these northern Heathens. "By letters from Petersburg, of April 11, 1721", our senate have received letters from the metropolitan Theodorus, dated at Tobolsky, the capital of Siberia, importing, that above 40000 Tartars have abjured Paganism, and been baptized by him and others of the clergy. That moreover they have pulled down their own temples, broke down their idols, and built up-wards

ⁿ Evening-Post, from May 2, to May 4, 1721

wards of twenty churches, in which divine service is performed by Russian priests. Upon these advices, our consistory have appointed a bishop to go and assist in confirming these new converts, and endeavour to make more proselytes."

We are also informed of several pieces of reformation, which the Czar of Russia, Peter I. is endeavouring to introduce into his large dominions, which in process of time may prove means to advance Christianity.

The author of the present State of Russia, printed in 1723, says^o, "That there are churches in all places in Russia, but as there is no preaching, nor any schools in the country, the common people are very ignorant in point of religion, and still more so, as to reading and writing. But the present Czar, who has at this time school and writing-masters, for the instruction of the youth in the towns, is resolved to do the like in the villages, and to banish the former ignorance from among his subjects." In another place he observes^o, "That the prince Gagarin took notice, that considering the vast extent of the Russian empire, and that many parts of it are almost inaccessible, it was no wonder, that so many of these Heathen nations remain unconverted: however, that his Czarish majesty had made already a beginning of their conversion, and was resolved to continue in his zeal for propagating the Christian religion all over his dominions." The same author says, "This was confirmed to me by some of the clergy at Muscow, who told me, that two years ago, by the Czar's orders, several persons

^o Vol. 1. p. 421.

^o Ibid vol. 1. p. 173.

sions were singled out from among them, and sent in the capacity of priests and school-masters to divers Pagan nations, especially the Ostiaks; which laudable undertaking had in several parts already met with the intended success.

The same author observes the great improvements the Czar had made in woollen and linen manufactories, in powder-mills, rope-yards, founderies for guns, &c. and more particularly in fine paper-mills^a, and a handsome printing-house, where they have begun to print in it weekly news-papers in the Russian language, by the Czar's orders, who will have his subjects get an insight into the affairs of the world; and it is with this view, that four monks in Prague, who are well versed in the Slavonian tongue, are now actually translating from the High Dutch, the great Historical Dictionary of Budæus. The translation of Puffendorf's Introduction to History; the Colloquia, or familiar Dialogues of Erasmus of Rotterdam; Arnaudt's true Christianity; Commenius Orbis Pictus, and other useful books, were printed three years ago."

And what, in my opinion, is of greater concern than all these; the Czar, as we are informed, has lately ordered the Bible to be printed in the Russian language, that copies thereof may be had in every family; that every person should learn to read the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and, that none be allowed to marry, but those who can read the same. And by letters from Hamburgh, of December 12th, 1722, we are told, that advices from Petersburgh say, that printed

VOL. VIII. Y Bibles

^a Present State of Russia, vol. 1. p. 181,—183.

Bibles have been distributed to every family there, and the like will be done throughout all Russia.

In the year 1717, when the Czar was at Paris, some Doctors of the Sorbonne, or faculty of divinity of the university there, delivered to him a project in Latin, of uniting the two churches of Rome and Russia, by observing a certain moderation on both sides^r. But the impossibility of bringing about such an union is plain to every one who is acquainted with the doctrine of both religions, and the maxims of the present government in Russia. To admit the Roman catholic religion, would be opening a door to endless disputes, which could not fail of disturbing that civil as well as ecclesiastical tranquillity which has been hitherto maintained in Russia, and endangering the security which the Czar has procured to himself, with respect to the Russian clergy, as well as their blind dependents the peasants. Neither is it probable, that the Czar, after having suppressed the patriarchal authority in Russia, will subject himself and his dominions to a far greater dependency, either on the pope, or on a general council.

The Czar, in all his reformation, seems rather to come nearer to the side of the Protestants; for the pilgrimages to the bones and relicts of saints, begins to grow very much out of use in Russia^s, since the Czar himself does not so much mind that religious ceremony. His Majesty also endeavours to bring off, by his example, his Russians from their rigorous fasts, considering this sort

^r Present State of Russia, vol. 1. p. 281. Vol. 2. p. 355. ^s Ibid. vol. 1. p. 237.

of devotion has proved pernicious to an infinite number of his soldiers, seamen and labourers.

We are also informed by letters from Hamburg, of January 2d, 1723, the Czar has given permission to Protestants, to build churches and schools for their own service; and has likewise declared, that the Russians are at liberty to embrace the protestant religion, if they please: than which he could do nothing more unpopular, the Muscovites being as warm zealots for their religion, as any under the sun.

What advantage may be gained to Christianity, and to the ruin of Mahometanism and infidelity, by the conquests of this great potentate in Persia, time will discover. Only we pray God, they may be improved to the advancement of our holy Christian religion, which he professeth.

By the public letters from Vienna, of December 14th, 1721, we are informed from Constantinople, that the Sultan has caused the Bible to be printed in the Turkish language, to be confronted with the Alcoran; which makes the Musti or high Ottoman priest the more uneasy, because the Grand Seignior will allow a church and chapel to be built in the suburbs of Pera, for the use of the catholics; as also a college for the study of sciences in the Latin, Greek and German tongues, to which even the Turks may resort. May Dagon fall before the ark, and may all these things be improved for the progress of Christianity over the world!

There are other things done in Europe, which may tend to the advancement of Christianity. In Germany, a great number of copies of the New Testament have been printed in the vulgar Greek

or Romaic, with the authentic Greek on the other side, and sent as a present to the poor Greek churches under Mahometan oppression. But I shall have occasion, in the last chapter of this history, to take notice of the excellent means of education in the university of Hall in Saxony, and other useful things doing there: and therefore, shall now look into some things doing at home for advancing our holy religion.

By an extract of several letters printed at London in the year 1721, now before me, we have a proposal from England, for printing the New Testament and Psalter in the Arabic language, for the benefit of poor Christians in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and other eastern countries.

There are several considerations offered in these letters, to shew the advantage and necessity of so pious an undertaking, which deserve room here. Particularly, Mr. Solomon Negri, native of Damascus in Syria, in his letter to a member of the society at London, for promoting Christian knowledge, dated March 28, 1720, advances these reasons for it. "First, the want of printing-presses in the eastern countries makes books very scarce and dear, much beyond what the poor Christians can afford to purchase them at, having much ado to pay the tributes and impositions laid on them by the government they live under, and to supply the common necessaries of life: So that there are but very few in a condition to buy books for their instruction and spiritual nourishment. Secondly, the few printed copies, either of the whole New-Testament, or any part of it, are very hard to be got in these parts of the world, and these also at a
very

very dear rate.—The two editions at Rome have had little success, by reason of the cuts and figures therein, which the eastern nations have an aversion to; and by reason of the badness of the impression, and meanness of the language, being even indecent in some places. Thirdly, the excellency of the Arabic language is undoubted, in what light soever you please to consider it; this is the language the Alcoran is wrote in; it extends to all those countries where the Mahometan religion is professed, and even beyond these countries, among many of the Heathen; it is the common language of the greatest part of Africa, of a considerable part of Asia; and in the Turkish dominions where it is not generally spoke, it is nevertheless taught in schools, and studied by men of letters, as Latin is in Europe, where also it is read in several universities.—But, says he, I will only mention those countries where the greatest number of Christians are settled; namely, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. In all these countries there are great numbers and communities of Christians, to whom such an edition will be useful, as the Arabians of the Greek church, commonly called Melchites, who being superior in number to all the rest, ought to be principally regarded; the Syrians or Eutychians, the Nestorians, Maronites, Armenians, Coptes, and even a small remnant of the ancientest Nazarenes. All these, though they celebrate their liturgy in the language used by the respective churches, yet they generally understand, speak, and write Arabic. He adds, the best method would be to reserve part of the edition at London, and send from time to time a number of copies bound, with a suitable

recommendation to the English consul at Aleppo, which of all cities, is the best situated for dispersing them: And the said consul, with the assistance of his chaplain, who will readily charge himself with a commission so agreeable to his character, and so charitable, honourable, and glorious to the British nation, will give them to those for whom they are designed.

Mr. Ayerst, chaplain to Sir Robert Sutton, late ambassador at the Porte, adds, "The Turks will not hinder such a New Testament from being dispersed." Mr. Samuel Lisle, sometime chaplain to the honourable Turkey company, adds, "I am very glad, that the society have taken it into their consideration, to assist their Christian brethren in the performance of so necessary a duty; for without some such assistance, I scarce see how 'tis possible for them to have the scriptures in their own hands—And will leave you, Sir, to judge what ignorance, corruptions, and superstitions are like to follow upon such a want." Several other persons, who had a particular knowledge of these parts of the world, confirm the former accounts of the usefulness of this work.

After all, 'tis proposed to print eight thousand copies of the New Testament and Psalter, in Arabic, with a new letter, on good paper, if the fund for doing it will reach to so great a number; and eight thousand copies, at six shillings the copy bound, including all charges, will come to two thousand four hundred pounds. This fund is to be raised by a charitable collection, and 'tis a very noble design, and a laudable way of extending Christian charity, to prevent the ignorance, superstition, and misery of such great numbers of Christians,

Christians, in so many large cities and countries, by giving them the holy scriptures in a language known to them; they being willing to read, and ready to receive instruction, and cannot enjoy that privilege but by the way here proposed. And we may now observe with pleasure, that this generous undertaking of printing the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic is accomplished in England, and 2000 copies of the New Testament and 4000 of the Psalter, have been already dispersed among these poor Christians, to their great comfort and spiritual advantage.

In Scotland we have had no great opportunities hitherto for sending missions to promote Christianity among Heathens in the remote parts of the world; but the flourishing state of our universities and schools of learning, makes it evident, that if youths proper for such purposes do offer, they may have religious and excellent education among us. The present history is humbly offered as a testimony of a hearty and sincere concern for the success of this important affair. I do not know if in any place, even the common people are more generally acquainted with the principles of religion, and have a more sober practice than with us; where ministers of the gospel not only by their frequent preaching, but also by their yearly visiting families, catechising the members of their congregations, and exact discipline, do constantly endeavour to promote reformation and Christian knowledge: Our several church judicatories, presbyteries, synods, and national assemblies, exciting, directing and supporting us in the performance of these important duties.

And

And particularly, the care, diligence, and success of the *Society in Scotland for propagating knowledge in the Highlands and Islands*, deserves to be noticed among those good things doing in Europe for promoting Christianity. The society was erected by letters patent of our late sovereign Queen Anne, in the year 1709, and has been promoted and encouraged by the 6th act of our National Assembly in that year, and by many subsequent acts and recommendations to the present time; it has been supported by the bounty of pious and charitable people: all which has been faithfully applied by the administrators. So as at present their fund, by the blessing of God, is increased to 4800 pounds Sterling¹, besides a considerable mortification that is life-rented. With which stock they maintain 59 charity schools in the Highlands and Islands, at which no less than 1444 boys, and 568 girls, in all 2012 are taught to read, write, to practise arithmetic, to sing the common tunes, and to understand the principles of the reformed religion. Tho' at the beginning, parents seemed averse from sending their children to learn, yet now they strive who shall have their children best taught; and even servants, both male and female, leave their services for a time, to have the benefit of instruction at the society schools: yea, popish parents have petitioned the society for the benefit of these schools to their children, and bound themselves under a penalty by a written obligation, to send their children thereto; so that now many children of popish parents both learn our catechism, and read other Protestant books, and come to church.

Though

¹ See recommendation by the Commission of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, November 14 1722.

Though popish priests and other zealots exerted themselves to the utmost to defeat the society's pious design, by spreading groundless falsehoods, as if those bred at the society's schools were designed for the plantations, yet they are now satisfied to the contrary. There seems now in most places an earnest desire after Christian knowledge, so that the Society's schools are not sufficient to instruct all the different places in the Highlands and Islands.

The National Assembly of this church, having, in the year 1715, recommended a voluntary collection for buying books, and maintaining itinerant schools in remote glens and islands, where popery and ignorance most abounds; upon that fund, some thousands of Bibles, great numbers of New Testaments, Catechisms, Confessions of Faith, books of devotion, of instruction to beginners, and books against popery, have been distributed, till that collection was exhausted, and at the desire of the Society a new one is granted in the year 1722. The progress and success of this society is the more desirable, that it banishes Ignorance, Atheism, Popery and Impiety, that did too much abound in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, and where their poverty and rudeness made other means ineffectual; but now we hope, they will be better subjects, and better Christians. Yea, in the island of Hirta, alias St. Kilda, at a considerable distance from the western coast of Scotland, the inhabitants were not so much as reformed from Heathenism, till in the year 1710, the society gave a commission to Alexander Buchan to be schoolmaster in that remote island, and he was also ordained by the presbytery of Edinburgh to be minister there,

there, the inhabitants having scarce ever heard the gospel preached before he came among them. They who desire to be further informed concerning this society, may read a pamphlet, entitled, *Account of the Rise, Constitution, and Management of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge*, printed at Edinburgh, in the year 1720, and the recommendation above cited.

May our gracious God bless and crown these and other good things that are a-doing, not only in Europe, but in any other part of the known world, for the advancing of our Redeemer's kingdom, and the ruin of ignorance and infidelity with great success, and may his name have the glory!

CHAP. IX.

Of further means to be used for converting the Heathens, and propagating Christianity; with arguments to promote the same.

HAVING confirmed the truth of the Christian religion, explained the state of heathenish idolatry from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ, discovered the vanity and wickedness of Paganism, and drawn down the history of the conversion of Heathens, from the infancy of the Christian church to the present day: there remains but a small part of our design now to be considered. The sad view we have had from the seventh chapter of this work of the present state of the Gentile world, under black darkness, and the servitude of Satan; love to perishing souls, and desire to advance the glory of Christ, may stir up the hearts of zealous Christians to use their utmost endeavours to turn sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them who are sanctified.

To propose proper methods for converting the Pagan world to the Christian religion, is a matter of great difficulty, and of vast consequence. The blessing of God, and the pouring out of his spirit from on high, are necessary to turn this wilderness into a fruitful field; but we are to expect
this

this blessing upon the use of the means proper for gaining the end. Therefore,

In the first place, We ought fervently to pray for the conversion of the Heathen world to the kingdom of Christ. The Psalmist says, *Prayer shall be made for him continually*^a; that is, Christ's subjects shall pray for the enlargement and prosperity of his kingdom. When the disciples joined together in prayer for the kingdom of Christ, it is said^b, *The place was shaken where they were assembled together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost*. The kingdom of our Redeemer is not advanced by external force, but by inward power and virtue. *Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts*^c. Therefore he has taught us to pray, *Thy kingdom come*. If we be unconcerned for the kingdom of our blessed Lord, our prayers are as good as none, and can never be acceptable at the throne of grace. The promises of the enlargement of the New Testament church are many, and the time is near when they shall be fully accomplished: we ought then, every one of us, in our station, to throw in our mite for the conversion of the Heathen world, not only by frequent prayers to the throne of grace, upon ordinary occasions, but also by joining in solemn days of humiliation and prayer for that end.

Secondly, Neglect of precious souls, covetousness, and a profane life, ought to be carefully shunned by those who are employed in this work of *Propagating Christianity among the Heathen*; and more particularly, no methods of force or cruelty ought to

^a Psalm lxxiii 15.

^b Acts iv. 31.

^c Zech. iv. 6.

to be used, but rather all proper means to convince them of the excellency of the Christian religion. The Spanish cruelties, at the conquest of America and the West Indies, are notorious all the world over; by these the poor Heathens got bad impressions of Christianity, and were hindered from chearfully embracing of it. I have not before insisted upon this piece of history, therefore allow me here to take some notice of it.

Don Bartholomew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, who himself was an eye-witness, has given a particular relation of these cruelties. His book was written in Spanish in the reign of Charles V. and is done into English under this title, *An Account of the first Voyages and discoveries made by the Spaniards in America*, containing the most exact relation hitherto published, of their unparalleled cruelties on the Indians. The copy before me is printed at London in the year 1699. I shall cite a few passages from it. This author, speaking of Hispaniola, the first isle the Spaniards seized, the extent whereof is about 600 leagues, says ^d, "The Almighty seems to have inspired these people with a meekness and softness of humour like that of lambs, and the Spaniards, who have given them so much trouble, and fallen upon them so fiercely, resemble savage tygers, wolves and lions, when enraged with pressing hunger. They applied themselves forty years together, wholly to massacring the poor wretches that inhabited the islands, putting them to all kinds of unheard-of torments and punishments.—Inasmuch that this island, which before the arrival of the Europeans, contained

^d Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, p. 3. & seq.

contained about three millions of people, is now reduced to less than three hundred. The island of Cuba, the length of which is equal to the distance between Valladolid and Rome, is entirely a desert, and destitute of its inhabitants, and nothing but ruins to be seen in it. The isles of St. John and Jamaica have met with the like treatment; they were fertile and populous, but are rendered desolate and waste by the like means. The islands near Cuba and Hispaniola, on the north side, are 60 in number, which are commonly called, *The Isles of Giants*, of which the least fruitful abounds more with plenty than the royal garden of Seville; but they are destitute of inhabitants, though it is as wholesome an air as men can breath in. When the Spaniards first landed in these isles, there were above 500,000 souls in them; they cut the throats of a good part of these, and carried away the rest by force to make them work in the mines of Hispaniola. When some pious persons embarked to visit these islands after the ravages the Spaniards had made in them, they found but eleven people left there. Above 30 isles near that of St. John are entirely depopulated, though of a vast extent; so that there is scarce one inhabitant to be found in them.

“As for the continent, 'tis certain, and what I myself (says my author) know to be true, that the Spaniards have ruined ten kingdoms there bigger than all Spain, by the commission of all sorts of barbarities and unheard-of cruelties. They have driven away or killed all the inhabitants; so that these kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduced to a most deplorable condition, though this was formerly the best peopled country in the world.

world. We dare assert, without fear of incurring the reproach of exaggerating, that in the space of these 40 years, in which the Spaniards exercised their intolerable tyranny in this new world, they have unjustly put to death above 12 millions of people, counting men, women, and children; and it may be affirmed, without injury to truth, upon a just calculation, that, during this space of time, above fifty millions have died in these countries.—They had so little regard to the salvation of their souls, that they would not give themselves the trouble so much as to speak of the Christian faith and sacraments to these numberless multitudes of men and women, whom they sacrificed to their ambition and tyrannies. That which aggravates the enormity of their crimes is, that these poor Indians had offered them no injury, but, on the contrary, gave them as much honour as if they had been sent from Heaven, till wearied out by repeated massacres, and constrained to betake themselves to arms, contrary to their inclination. But the weapons they used^a were neither capable of defending them, nor of fending their enemies to any purpose, and were more like those children used to play with, than such as are fit for soldiers to use in war. The Spaniards mounted on horses, armed with lances and swords, passed through cities and towns, sparing neither age nor sex, killed women and children, ripped up women with child, that root and branch might be destroyed together, dashed the children against rocks, cast them into rivers, diverting themselves with this brutish sport. They set

^a Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, p. 7.

set up gibbets, and hanged thirteen of these poor creatures in honour of Christ and his apostles, (as the Spaniards blasphemously expressed themselves.") But I am not going to make a full recital of these cruelties, which our author owns to be incredible^f.

"These Spanish cruelties began after the death of Queen Isabella, who died in the year 1504. The Spaniards took the Indians to be servants, and proposed to instruct them in the Roman Catholic religion, but committed them to the most ignorant, cruel and covetous of mankind^g. Were burning multitudes in great houses, killing them with greedy dogs, massacring, robbing and spoiling, proper methods to persuade the poor Indians of the excellency of the Christian religion? In the kingdom of Yucatan, some Franciscan friars preached with zeal and success, till 18 Spanish troopers and 12 foot soldiers brought there a number of idols, and sold them to the people at great prices: whereupon the Indians said to the friars, "Why have ye deceived us by your false promises^h? Did not you assure us the Spaniards should no more invade and oppress us? Why have you burnt our Gods, to bring us strange gods out of other countries? Are these better or mightier than our own?" After this the friars thought fit to leave the country, and the Indians were abandoned to their former darkness and idolatry." The Bishop of St. Martha wrote to the king of Spain, telling himⁱ, I am necessitated to let your Majesty know, that the Spaniards who are come into this new world live rather like Devils than Christians; they neither serve God nor the king, they violate all the laws of God and men

^f Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, p. 15, and 92.

^g Ibid. p. 15.

^h Ibid. p. 58. ⁱ Ibid. p. 61, 62.

men with impunity. Nothing can be a greater hindrance to the conversion of the Indians, than the ill treatment and persecution they make them suffer continually. These people naturally love peace and quiet; but the barbarous usage they meet with from the Spaniards, inspires them with horror against all Christians, whom they therefore call in their language Yares, that is to say, Devils. While the Indians see both officers and soldiers commit such detestable crimes, they believe the laws of Christianity authorises such inhuman actions, and that neither God nor our king forbids them.—It seems absolutely necessary your Majesty stop the course of these robbers by some exemplary punishment, and that your majesty declare, you will have none of their services, who so highly dishonour God and religion.”

Who can tell how the Spaniards broke promise and faith to the poor Indians? Killed them, and carried them away into slavery, when they had promised them peace and protection? After the Indian kings and great men had given immense and incredible sums in gold and jewels to spare their lives, they burnt them to death with incredible tortures: the exact recital of which, says our author, would fill the minds of all that read this history with too much horror¹, and yet he has wrote a whole book full of them. After all, he says¹, “I shall add no more; that which is most deplorable is, that the Spaniards take no care to speak to these people of the mysteries of our religion, nor seem to regard them any more than dogs or wild beasts; nay, they have forbid-

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¹ Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, p 92.¹ Ibid. p 99.

den the monks and missionaries to instruct them, whom they have even persecuted, and laid a thousand objections in their way, to hinder them from preaching the gospel to these poor creatures, who passionately desired it; and all because they thought their conversion would be an obstacle to their own covetous designs, and hinder them from getting all the gold they desired. So that these miserable people have been industriously kept in their former ignorance, and know no other God than those of wood and stone, unless it be the people of New Spain, where the monks have exercised their function, and have been suffered to display their zeal with more freedom. In the other provinces, the Indians perish without baptism, and no one gives himself the trouble to instruct them." In another place of his book our author says^m, "The Spaniards undoubtedly have an obligation upon them to instruct these Indians in the doctrine of Christ, but they are so ignorant themselves, that 'tis not to be wondered at, if they take no care to inform others. I know, says he, one John Colmenero, in the isle of St. Martha, as dull, as ignorant, and as whimsical a fellow as one could meet with, to whom the care of instructing the Indians in a great city was committed, though he scarce knew how to make the sign of the Cross; and when he was examined about the course he took to instruct the Indians, could make no other answer, but that he taught them to say, *Per Signin Sanctin Cruces*. How indeed is it possible for the Spaniards to teach the Indians Christianity, when the most noted Spanish lords, and such as make the great-
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^m Spanish Voyages and Cruelties, p. 117.—

est figure in the Indies, scarce know how many commandments there are? For they go to America only to gratify their insatiable covetousness; they are generally given to all sorts of vice, so immoderate, voluptuous and effeminate, that if a just comparison were made between them and the Indians, the latter would be found to have more honesty.—This makes many Indians laugh at the God we worship, and persist obstinately in their infidelity. They believe the God of the Christians to be the worst of gods, because his worshippers are the worst of men. As for your Majesty (speaking to the king of Spain) they think you are the most cruel and impious prince in the world, while they see the cruelty and impiety of your subjects; and they verily believe your Majesty lives upon nothing but human flesh and blood.”

The Lord Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, upon his return to Spain, proposed, in an assembly of prelates and learned men, whom the king had called together at Valladolid, to reform the affairs of the Indies in the year 1542. “That the king of Spain should take the Indians under his protection, and consider them as his lawful subjects; that by this means they may be sheltered and guarded from the continual tyranny and insolence of their enemy the Spaniards, and not be utterly extirpated by massacres, which have been oft committed with impunity; for as fruitful and populous as the new world has been, it will be soon laid entirely waste, if the Spaniards be still suffered to root out the inhabitants, as they have hitherto done.” The reasons of this advice are too long to be here inserted; the sum of them may be learned from what is

above narrated. They who are curious, may see them more fully in the book itself, and in the bishop of Chiapa's dispute with Dr. Sepulveda, who maintained the wars of the Spaniards against the Indians to be lawful, as a just punishment of their enormous crimes. The learned and laborious Mons. du Pin, has given us an abstract of the life of the bishop of Chiapa, and of this whole dispute". Joseph Acoſta is of the ſame opinion with the biſhop of Chiapa, that theſe wars of the Spaniards were unlawful, and no proper methods to recommend Chriſtianity to the Heathens^o. Certainly they were no apoſtolic, no rational methods, nor ſuch as the primitive Chriſtians ever uſed, to perſuade the Gentile world to embrace our holy religion. Acoſta ſays^p, "The minds of princes and great men are to be dealt with in a rational way, that they may be enlightened in the knowledge of Chriſt, and perſuaded to ſubmit to him; and therefore our people, i. e. the Spaniards, did greatly err in murdering Atabalipa, Ynca of Peru; his ſucceſſors to this day complain of it, and affirm, that if their princes had been once prudently gained, the whole empire of Peru would in a little time have embraced the Chriſtian faith, for theſe barbarous people have a wonderful affection for their kings."

Thirdly, Though in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory, and particularly in the former chapter^q, I have obſerved the irreligious methods which the miſſionaries of the church of Rome uſe, in converting the Heathen

^a Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccleſiaſtiques, Cent. XVI p. 64.—73. Edition Amſterdam, 1710. ^o De procuranda Indorum ſalute, lib. 2. cap. 3, 4, 5. ^p Ibid. lib. cap. 18. ^q See chap. 8.

Heathen to a profession of Christianity, according to their superstitious rites; yet I conceive it proper to add a further caution, that Protestants who desire to labour successfully in that work, may beware of these popish ways. And more especially, 1st, that they act not as the popish clergy, while they baptized Heathens come to age, without ever instructing them in the principles of the Christian religion. 'Tis reported of twelve Franciscan friars, that each of them baptized an hundred thousand Indians, and one of them four times that number, asking no more, but, what is their names? Yea, they baptized vast multitudes all at once, without any previous care to make them Christians, so as these pretended proselytes did not know whether they were baptized or not. Such converts continued in the practice of their old heathenish idolatry and impiety, never looking to God for his grace, nor amending their life and conversation, 2^{dly}, None can with success labour in the conversion of the Heathen, without being able to instruct and speak to them in the language of the country. Every man heard the apostles speak in his own language, Acts ii. 6. the holy apostle Paul, inspired by the Spirit of God, spends a whole chapter, viz. 1 Corinth. xiv. against speaking, preaching, or prophesying in an unknown tongue. When the prophet Jeremiah discourses to the Chaldeans, of the vanity of their idolatry, he says, "Thus shall ye say unto them, the gods that made not the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens," Jer. x. 11. He changes his dialect, and

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speaks in Chaldee, the vulgar tongue of Babylon. To pretend to teach Pagans the Christian faith at their first conversion, in the Latin tongue, as the Spaniards did with the Indians, is the most ridiculous folly. This, even the Papists themselves were sometimes sensible of, though they took too little care to amend it. Francis Xavier, of whose success in the East-Indies, the church of Rome so highly boasts^f, says^g, If we understood the language of Japan, I doubt not but very many would be persuaded to embrace Christianity; but now we are as dumb statues before them, they speak many things before us, which we understand not, being ignorant of their native tongue: Mean time, we are like boys learning the first elements of their language. *Thirdly*, beware of popish tyranny and cruelty, which has been already described; this made the poor Indian chuse rather to go to hell with his countrymen, than to heaven with the Spaniards. *4thly*, Neither must the Heathen, when they embrace Christianity, be allowed in the practice of their old heathenish idolatry, as the Jesuits have done with their converts in China, and in several parts of the East-Indies, as has been already illustrated^h. *5thly*, Profaneness, avarice, and the like enormous crimes, are also to be shunned. "The Barbarians, says Acostaⁱ, think all Christians to be the same sort of people with those who come among them, and therefore, their crimes and scandals redound to the infamy of our religion." *6thly*, I shall add the observation of Dr. Geddes, when with great industry he had written

^f See page 187—190.
^g See page 905.
 salute, lib. 1. cap. 18.—

^h Xavier Epist. lib. 3. Hottinger Hist. Eccl. Sec. 13. pag. 905.
ⁱ See chap. VIII.

^k De procuranda Indorum

written the history of the churches of Malabar and Ethiopia. In his preface to the latter he says, "There are four things, whereof, if I am not mistaken, this history will satisfy the reader; *first*, that the Roman missionaries, especially the Jesuits, having neither the gift of miracles, nor of patience, to wait for the slow issue of converting nations, by preaching the faith to them, are every where they can come at them, for dispatching the matter with dragoons, or by some other violent and sanguinary way; the Jesuits being all to a man of the same opinion with their great apostle of the Indies, Francis Xavier, missionaries without muskets, do never make converts to any purpose. The truth of which maxim, John Bolunte, a missionary Jesuit, tells us, is confirmed by universal experience; and that neither in Brasil, Peru, Mexico, Florida, or the Moluccas, have any conversions been made, without the help of the secular arm. The *second* is, that there is no tyranny in the world, equal to that which the Roman prelates, where they have the secular power at their command, do continually exercise, and that without the common relentings of humanity upon all sorts of people, who will not turn to their religion. *Thirdly*, that missionaries, whenever they have inspired a prince, the main body of whose subjects are anti-papists, with a bigotry to introduce their religion into his country, they either run him out of breath, or run his head against a wall. *Fourthly*, that ambition did very early enter into the Jesuits order, that society not being above ten years standing in the world, when it had engrossed a mission to itself, which did promise both greater and cheaper honours than ever any mission

sion had done before." These methods are none of them recommended by our Redeemer, nor by his apostles, but are forged in Antichrist's shop; which the faithful, zealous Christian, who would successfully labour in converting the Heathen, must carefully guard against.

Though by these means the church of Rome has done no good, yea, have done much harm; yet I will not absolutely affirm, that all their labours, in propagating Christianity among the Heathen, has done no service. Some of their converts may be as profelytes of the gate, the seed of Christianity, and when they shall be more fully instructed, may be useful to promote our religion among the Gentiles, as has been before observed^y. The popish missionaries have baptized multitudes of infants and adult persons; the abominable human sacrifices in Mexico and Peru are abolished in great measure, since the Spaniards conquered these countries; and any sort of Christians are, or at least should be better than blinded Heathens. If once the blessed times were come, when the angel shall cry with a loud voice, *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen—Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues^z. When the ten horns or kings shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire^a: When the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved^b: When Jehovah our Redeemer shall be King over all the earth, in that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one^c: If these happy days were come, then all invidious, different denominations of*

Christians

^y See chap VIII. pag. 179. ^z Revelation xviii. 1,—4. ^a Ibid. xvii. 11,—16. ^b Romans. xi. 25, 26. ^c Zechariah xiv. 9.

Christians shall be abolished, and then all with one consent shall propagate true Christianity among the Gentiles, and the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever. Mean time, we who are enlightened by the reformation, ought to abhor and abstain from these means set on foot by popish cruelty, delusion, and superstition, which the gospel never allows as the means which God will bless to make converts. For this reason, I dare not commend most of the advices that even Joseph Acosta offers in his book *de procuranda Indorum salute*, as being tainted with popish errors; tho' otherwise I have a great value for that author, and for the main design of that book. But,

Fourthly, I chuse rather to commend the noble examples of Mr. John Elliot, and other-pastors in New-England, who succeeded him, in their endeavours to convert the Heathens in their neighbourhood; and the Danish missionaries in the East-Indies, of whom we have largely discoursed in the former chapter, as excellent patterns for imitation. There we find those who were employed in that work, first carefully studied the language of the natives among whom they were to labour, they gained their affections, they preached frequently, catechised carefully; they translated the Bible, and other useful books into their language, that their converts might truly understand the foundation of our religion, and that no seducer might impose upon them; they found evidences of real conversion among their profelytes, and continued their pains to add many to the church, and to edify the body of Christ. A careful imitation of such noble patterns may be more profitable

able than many advices. Those, who thus labour in this work, have ground to hope for success; the Heathens have rational souls, are docile and willing to receive instruction; they do not labour under such prejudices as Mahometans and Jews; they have good impressions of the capacity of the Europeans to teach them the way to everlasting happiness. And when they find a missionary free of selfish and base ends, holy and unblameable in practice, seeking only their souls eternal happiness, they will be ready to hearken to him. *He that winneth souls is wise^d, and they who turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever^e.*

Fifthly, Care ought to be taken to instruct the Indians dispersed among the Christians in America, and even the negro slaves, in the principles of our religion. 'Tis a reproach and scandal to Christians, that they have no more concern for the salvation of these slaves, than if they were beasts, yea, in some measure, more care is taken of beasts; for they are allowed to rest on the Lord's day, whereas the Negro and Indian servants, most of them have no other day in the week to plant their yams and potatoes, and to work for their own maintenance, but on that day. I find the honourable society in England, for propagating the gospel in foreign parts^f, employed and supported Mr. Elias Neau, a plain, zealous layman, at New-York, in this work of teaching these servants. He informed the society by his letters, dated July 1. 1703. "That there were in these parts, a great number of slaves called Negroes, of both sexes,

^d Proverbs xi. 30. ^e Daniel xii. 3. ^f Account of the society, pag. 58. & seq.

sexes, and of all ages, who were without God in the world, and of whose souls there was no manner of care taken; and therefore, 'tis worthy of the charity of this corporation, to endeavour to find out some methods for their instruction, in order to the converting and baptizing them, without any way affecting the property of their masters——That such a harvest would be more plentiful than that of the Indians, if some honest subsistence were allowed to any good person, for undertaking the office of a catechist among them: and the masters might be obliged to send, or at least to suffer their slaves to be catechised every Sunday; and the ministers would examine from time to time, what progress is made in improving and saving these poor ignorant souls." The same Mr. Neau in other letters observes, "that a great impediment to this good design, was a vulgar prejudice in these parts, That if the Negroes were baptized, they would cease to be slaves; tho' neither law nor gospel does authorize any such opinion——The French and Spaniards baptize all their slaves, without giving them any temporal liberty." After considering these reasons, the society did prevail with the said Mr. Neau, to undertake the office of a catechist, and promised to encourage him with a salary of fifty pounds a year; he received a licence from my Lord Cornbury, to catechise the Negroes and Indians, and the children of the town of New-York, and for that end left his relation of an elder in the French church. In the discharge of this office, Mr. Neau went from house to house, to catechise Negro slaves; but finding that inconvenient, he prevailed with their masters to send them every Monday, Wednesday

Wednesday and Friday, at four in the afternoon, to be instructed in the first principles of our religion, and obtained a licence from the bishop of London for that end. He likewise desired application might be made to the governor, to pass an act of assembly, whereby it should be ordered, that all the inhabitants should permit their slaves to be instructed, and that their religion should make no alteration in their condition. The society for propagating religion, by the advice of one of their members, prepared the draught of a bill to be offered to parliament, for the more effectual conversion of the Negroes and other servants in the plantations. I do not find that it passed into a law; but Mr. Samuel Tomlyns informed the society by his letter, dated March 10th, 1703, that under his encouragement, about 20 Negroes had learned to read; he was acquainting them with the principles of the Christian religion, and had lately baptized one Negro man, and hoped in a little time, to find more fit for that holy institution.—One Mr. Vesey had also converted some Negroes and Indians to the Christian religion. A pious concern for the salvation of immortal souls should make every one, as occasion offers, promote so good a work.

Sixthly, 'Tis adviseable, that in remote Pagan countries, where any European Christians have settled colonies, some boys of Heathens should be carefully initiated and instructed in Christianity and then sent to some of our universities, and there educated and trained up for the holy ministry. Where the English, Dutch, and Danes, with other European Christians, in the kind providence of God, are possessed of so large territo-

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ries in Asia, Africa, and America, youths of a promising genius might be easily looked for, and instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, taught to speak English, Dutch, French, or other European languages: these being sent to our schools and universities in Europe, and there trained up in religion and learning, and filled with holy zeal for the good of souls, might, under the inspection of the governors, consuls, and pastors of those colonies where they were at first educated, be employed in this great work, and thro' the divine blessing, might be capable of doing much good. 'Tis frequently observed by M. Cerri, secretary to the congregation de Propaganda Fide, "That one of these natives, so educated, does more good than many missionaries sent from Europe." When discoursing of the ruin of Christianity in Japan, he says², "But if the natives had been ordained priests, it would have prevailed to this very day, notwithstanding all persecutions." Joseph Acosta is of the same mind, "that the natives when rightly educated, are most proper for this work¹." The missionaries sent from Europe, take a great deal of time before they can learn the language of the country to which they are sent; and even when that is done, they are so unacquainted with the people and their customs, are so frightened and maltreated with reproaches, indignities and persecutions, and so often straitened as to their subsistence, that they frequently desert their mission, or are not able to accomplish the ends thereof. But these inconveniencies are more easily shunned by such, who,

¹ Account of the Roman Catholic Religion, p. mihi 130. ² De procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 379.

who, from their infancy, were acquainted with the language, customs and manners of the people, among whom they are to labour; especially, when there is a competent number of them to strengthen one another's hands in the work, and under the inspection of faithful and zealous patrons, who can direct, protect, support and assist them.

The learned Walæus¹ recommends a seminary for educating youth in our colleges, who may be afterward employed to convert the Indians. Particularly he is of opinion, that special care should be taken, that youths trained up for these ends, should be of known piety, prudence, zeal and diligence: that they be instructed in the knowledge of divinity, and in the controversies we have with Mahometans, Jews, and Gentiles; in the customs and languages of the countries where they are to serve: that trial be taken of them, not only by the masters and professors of the university, but also by the classes or presbytery in the bounds, that their qualifications for this work may be the more evident: being thus found qualified, they may be sent and encouraged with ships going to the Indies, to labour in that work of converting the natives. The zeal of the church of Rome, in their college for propagating the faith, ought to excite Protestants to the like endeavours; not to propagate their own opinions, to make proselytes to a party, and subject foreigners to a Roman pontiff, but to *turn sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified;*

¹ Antonii Walæi Opera, tom. 3. p. 437. Necessitas ac forma Collegii seu Seminarii Indici.—

rified; to promote true Christianity over the world, and to use all proper means for attaining so good an end.

While I am upon this subject of educating youth for this great end of propagating Christianity, I cannot but remark, as before I promised*, and I conceive it deserves to be observed with pleasure, admiration and thankfulness to God, that the piety, learning and diligence of Dr. August Herman Frank, professor of divinity at Hall in Saxony, this way, has been crowned with remarkable success. This design took its first rise from an inconsiderable beginning, an alms-box placed at his study door, into which some poor mites were thrown, whereby books were bought for poor scholars; then, by unexpected supplies, a noble project was set on foot, which was afterwards enlarged so, as a house and public schools were erected. Frankius himself, is a person wonderful for vast erudition, shining piety, and matchless industry, which God has blessed to advance the kingdom of Christ in the world, so as he has done more within these thirty years or thereabouts, than one would think should require a whole century. In order to advance the kingdom of Christ, he began to communicate divine knowledge to a few poor ignorants; his intention being divulged, God stirred up the hearts of men far and near, to send their bounties, which enabled him to build a capacious orphan house, where he has lodged, fed and clothed a number of poor children, by tutors flaming with true piety, bestowed a religious education upon them, till

till they are sent forth to proper employments, or the riper wits among them set apart for the university. The number of persons thus nourished in the orphan house, is near 500, who have been subsisted above 20 years, by an amazing providence, by the charity of well-disposed persons in several parts of Europe; they have lived, and still do, like the Israelites, upon the manna rained from heaven. In the university is taught pure religion and undefiled, accompanied with all sorts of human literature. The German school has about 1600 scholars¹, in 32 classes, and 8 tutors. The Latin, Greek and Hebrew has 14 classes, 26 tutors, and above 300 scholars, where vast numbers are taught for nothing, others for a small Didactrum of about 24 shillings a-year of our money. The education in these schools, is advanced with such a strain of piety, the tutors keep so exact discipline, with such paternal tenderness and clemency, and yet with such effectual cogency, that it were to be desired, that all our schools were managed by such rules as the Pietas Hallensis has exemplified. The Frederician university, so called from its patron the king of Prussia, is under the government of five professors, viz. Dr. Frankius, Dr. Buthaup, Dr. Antonius, Dr. Michaelis, and Dr. Langius; 'tis one of the most flourishing in the world, having more than 3000 students resorting to it from all parts of Europe. Piety is still the main concern, the students are not sent forth with testimonials to the ministry, till it appear by lively symptoms that they know what it is to live to God, and, by faith on the Son of God,

¹ See Pietas Hallensis, and Dr. Cotton Mather's brief account of good things doing for the kingdom of God in Europe.

God, to hate all sin, and slight this world, to have a soul reconciled with low and mean circumstances here, and an heart set upon doing good, willing to be at any pains for it, and have nothing so much at heart as how to advance the kingdom of Christ in this world. It is not needful now to enlarge on the many lessons and sermons they have in their public auditory upon their dining-room, where they are agreeably entertained; their Nosocomium, where their sick are provided for, with suitable instructions and proper medicines; their Pædagogium Regium, where the sons of men of quality are educated, it has about 100 scholars, most of them strangers; the famous Fregerus is their inspector. Their Gynecæum, for young gentlewomen taught at the expence of their parents; and in another house are taught indigent women; especially those who fly from popish persecutions. Their Cherotrophea, where poor widows are supported. Their English house, in which are a number of English scholars, whose work is to translate out of, or into English, books of piety. And their Collegium Orientale Theologicum, where many, and even some Greek youths among them study the oriental tongues, that they may be capable to advance piety in the more eastern parts of the world. Here is also Præceptorum Seminarium, or a nursery for tutors, in which they who are designed for the tuition of others, do spend a couple of years to be furnished with skill and grace for that employment. Hence have gone forth well-acomplished tutors, not only for Frankius' schools, but for several other parts of Germany and Europe. There is likewise

likewise a seminary for catechisers, and an *Officina Pharmaceutica*, belonging to the orphan-house, where eminent physicians have lodged their best Arcana. There are printing-presses, which have brought forth books which have had an incredible influence on promoting true piety even in remote countries; the warmth of them has reached as far as Siberia, a remote cold country in Muscovy, whence came letters to the doctor, filled with praises to God for the good these books have done. But above all, hence have proceeded innumerable copies, and many editions of the Holy Bible, at a cheaper rate than ever was in Germany; that these waters of the sanctuary may run into all the corners of the earth, and refresh the congregation of the poor. Here the scriptures have been published in the Slavonic tongue for the poor Bohemians and Hungarians; in the vulgar Greek, or Romainic, with the authentic Greek on the other side, as a present to the poor Greek church under the Mahometan oppression. The German Bibles are at so easy a rate, as more of them have been sold of late in a few years than in a whole age before. This glorious example has awakened the like zeal for scattering Bibles in other places through the earth. The world begins to feel a warmth from this divine fire, which thus flames in the heart of Germany, may the whole universe be sensible of it! It has reached even to the East-Indies, the gospel of the glorious God has been carried to the coasts of Malabar, by the Danish Missionaries educated in these schools, who deserve to be reckoned among the best of men, of whom we have more fully heard in the former chapter. I doubt not but from this noble seminary many other

other missionaries may be had, for labouring in the conversion of other parts of the Heathen world. Hence it may be demonstrated, how much the Roman missionaries are out, when they go about to confine the spirit of charity to their church. The reading of the book, entitled, *Pietas Hallensis*, which contains this narrative more fully, and of which there are many copies, editions and translations, (that before me is printed at London in 1705,) gives many remarkable evidences of the hearing of prayer, of relief in straits, and of divine providence protecting and prospering such works of charity designed for his glory. May other nations, and we in this island, imitate so noble an example! For this reason I have insisted more fully on it.

To this end, I shall also offer a later account, from letters, bearing date at Hall in Saxony, November 24th, 1719, by this eminent and learned Dr. August Herman Frank, to the secretary of the society at London for promoting Christian Knowledge. I take notice of only a part of the letter, where he says ^m, " Thus it has pleased God, and still pleases him, to bless these pious institutions which he has entrusted to my care, and to endow them with an extraordinary fund of his peculiar providence, and to furnish us with supplies every way necessary for the present, though not for the future wants and occasions. For though there arises some yearly income from the library and apothecary's shop, yet considering that 600 students and scholars have the benefit of eating twice a day at free cost, and that above 2000

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^m The copy before me, is, with several letters relating to the Protestant Danish mission at Tranquebar, printed at London in 1720.

boys and girls have almost all their learning free in our schools, under the care of near 150 masters, regulated by certain rules and methods, and that poor sick people, both of the town and neighbouring villages, have the advice of the physician of the hospital, and the necessary medicines given them gratis; not to mention salaries of the servants, expences required for raising new buildings, and keeping them in repair:—considering all this, it will evidently appear, that our yearly revenues would fall far short of maintaining a work of this nature, without extraordinary supplies and donations, which by divine providence are transmitted to us.—In the mean time, this example alone without a narrative has, God be praised, been of such influence, as to invite several others in Germany to imitate our honest endeavours of this kind: for, in these late years, many orphan-houses and alms-houses have been purposely erected, and provided with good laws; others have been repaired and brought under better regulations. For proof whereof, not only do these serve that have been erected at the public expence, as those of Leipzig, Gotha, Berlin, Sleswic, Stargard, Coburg, Zittaw, &c. but those especially that have been set up, and now subsist without the help of a sufficient fund, as by occasional donations, and providential supplies, which is the main of what they have to depend upon. Some of these have been begun and continued by private persons, viz. one by an inspector in the country of Limburg, another by a pastor of Stolberg, another by a professor of the reformed religion at Marpurg, and another by a waggoner at Langendorf in our neighbourhood, who to that

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end sold his cart, horses, &c. There are others which are maintained both ways, partly at the charge of the public, and partly by charitable gifts: of which number we may justly mention that of Weimar, Cetingen, Widingen, Laubach, Hackenburgh, Nortling, &c. where most of those who are principally concerned in the management and government, are such, as are either our intimate friends, or correspondents. Among the number of alms-houses, that of Augsburgh deserves a particular notice: this, from a very small beginning of three or four persons, who, in full confidence of assistance from above, at first undertook that work, has, by a success of about 20 years, increased to that degree, that now a considerable number of boys, girls, men and women, are fed and entertained in a house both large and handsome. They are diligently instructed in religion, as well as in other useful employments: it has also now obtained the authority of the magistrate to confirm the same. Neither must I omit mentioning the orphan-house, which is founded with like design at Hirschfeld in Haffia, by that excellent man Dr. Mell, a famous divine of the reformed confession, which, as I passed that way two years ago, gave me a very sensible satisfaction. A certain pastor, who was formerly one of my auditors, began one at Essen in East-Friesland, upon his own private motion without any settled income, and has continued it to this day with remarkable success. Not to mention how providentially many have been stirred up to a more accurate inspection and reformation of methods used in schools, and to the erecting of new ones in conformity to our schools here, and to

the royal Pædagoꝑy in particular. This we have had the pleasure of observing in several places, but especially at Konisburg in Prussia, at Halberstadt, Magdeburg, &c. These good motions, which of late discovered themselves in the hearts of men, otherwise divided and separated by the distance of place, and by different customs and interests, 'tis but just to ascribe to Almighty God, who is the author of them: We have all the reason to hope, that a glorious increase of Christianity will rise and ensue, according to the usual methods of Divine Providence, from these private and less promising beginnings, and that notwithstanding all the force and policy of hell to obstruct it." After what has been said concerning the methods of education of those who may be sent to propagate the gospel among the Heathen, and the good things a-doing in Europe, with relation to this and other valuable purposes, I proceed,

In the seventh place to observe, that special care should be had, that those who are sent to remote parts of the world upon this errand, should be men of sufficient abilities, endowed with knowledge of the truths of God, capable to speak the language of the people to whom they are sent, or who will apply themselves to learn it, before they enter upon that work; that they be of a holy and blameless conversation, moved by a pious zeal for the glory of God, and the good of his church; patient to endure hardships and difficulties, prudent to deal with the humours of the people, serious in practical godliness, and furnished with fortitude of body and mind for so great a work. The learned Jesuit, Joseph Acosta, gives but a sorry account of the popish priests, who were first

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sent to convert the Indians in Peru", saying, "That the priests repeated the Creed with some prayers and offices twice or thrice a-week to these people in Spanish, of which the Indians understood not one syllable, nor could they pronounce one single word in that language; and the priests gave the Indian boys something in form of a catechism in the Indian tongue, which they obliged them to repeat; but their teachers understood nothing of it, nor could explain it to their scholars." In another place he says^o, "The parish priests were given to lechery and uncleanness, were guilty of avarice, and unlawful ways of making gain and usury; did game at cards and dice night and day, a whole year's salary would be demolished at one throw. They spent their time in hunting and hawking in the fields, but would grudge at a minute employed upon religious purposes. The man of God should flee these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness," 1 Tim. vi. 11. Acosta also mentions the careless profane way^p in which these priests administered the sacraments, and that some of them maintained, "Men may be saved without the knowledge of Christ^q:" whom he justly refutes, *since there is no salvation in any other, nor any other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved*, Acts iv. 12. It was the apostle Paul's constant work to preach among the Gentiles, *the unsearchable riches of Christ*, Eph. iii. 8. They who neglect and despise this doctrine, can never convert the Heathen. Indeed, great care should be taken to instruct them in the fundamentals of the Christian

^o De procuranda Indorum salute, lib. 4. cap. 3. pag. 358. ^p Ibid. cap. 15. Contra Abusus Indicorum Parochorum. ^q Ibidem lib. 6. cap. 2. ^u Ibidem. lib. 5. cap. 3. pag. 441.

Christian religion, to catechise them, and by frequent prayers and sermons, to awaken them to a suitable concern for their own salvation, and, so soon as they are capable, to administer the sacraments to them.

Eighthly, If we would propagate religion in foreign parts, we ought to reform ourselves at home, that a holy warmth of sincere piety may so burn in our hearts, as would prompt us to spend and be spent for promoting the kingdom of Christ in every part of the world. Alas! iniquity prevails in city and country, we are like to dwindle into the empty form of a profession, and become strangers to the real power of godliness. The reformation has little advanced, but rather declined this last century. 'Tis lamentable that popish idolatry, should increase in a Protestant country, and that so little care should be taken to bring over the popish natives in Ireland to the Protestant religion. Mr. Richardson has published an history of the attempts to convert these natives to the established religion, but little is done to advance that good design. The Bible is indeed printed in their language, which is one good step, and if a competent number of persons of piety and pregnant parts, who, from their infancy understood their language and customs, were sent and encouraged to labour in the work of the ministry among them, there might be hopes of comfortable success. This would strengthen the Protestant interest in Ireland, secure the peace and prosperity of that nation, would glorify God, and advance our holy religion. Many other things might be done for reformation of manners, and promoting piety, for checking profaneness, reclaiming

claiming the vicious, curbing Atheism, and profane irreligious mocking at the scriptures and sacred things, which I must leave to be managed by others. Let every man reform his own heart and life, his own family, and every pastor his own congregation, and promote pure religion according to his station in the place where he is concerned; then shall we be also careful to advance the same in the remote parts of the world, wherever providence shall open a door. *When the Spirit is poured out from on high, the wilderness shall be a fruitful field, judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field.*

Finally, Kings, princes, and states ought to promote this work of propagating religion among the Heathen. The great examples of the noble emperors Constantine and Theodosius the Great, Charlemaign, Louis le Debonaire, and others, whose names are famous among posterity; their *works praise them in the gate*, and their care to propagate Christianity, which has been mentioned in this history, should excite others in this age to imitate so noble patterns. By our blessed Redeemer *kings reign, and princes decree justice*; they should then employ that power they have from him for his glory and service; this would make their crowns to flourish on their heads, and their praises to be in all the churches. 'Tis true, force and compulsion, violence and persecution are not to be used, only rational and soul-convincing means are proper to reclaim sinners from the error of their way: yet princes and sovereigns may support and encourage missionaries, may protect their persons, defray their necessary expences, and reward their pious endeavours. Kings are *nursing fathers*

fathers to the church, Isaiah xlix. 24. When the glory of the Lord is risen upon the church, then Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising, Isaiah lx. 3. They shall add a lustre to the government of Christ's house. They may employ governors and deputies of real piety, and flaming zeal for the interest of religion in Pagan countries afar off. Even the heathen Romans, in their remote provinces, made always choice of persons of great abilities, not merely such, whose birth and circumstances made such a profitable office necessary to them, but whose merit and capacity rendered them fit for it. They may take care by wholesome laws, that converts to Christianity be protected in their persons and goods, that they be not oppressed by immoderate taxations, or obliged to work in mines, or too hard service; but that they may be encouraged and taught in the pleasure and profit of our holy religion. If every one in their station did use their best endeavours to advance the kingdom of Christ, then should converts to the gospel church be as the sand on the shore, peace should flow as a river, and righteousness as the waves of the sea.

To all that has been advanced I shall add, that the reverend Mr. William Stevenson, chaplain to the honourable East-India Company at Fort St. George, gives his opinion for rendering the Protestant Mission to the East-Indies, by the blessing of God, more effectual for gaining the Heathen to true Christianity; in a letter to the secretary of the society at London for promoting Christian knowledge. The letter is printed in the year 1721, but bears date at Fort St. George, on the coast of Coromandel, 27th December-1716. I
promised

promised before to take notice of it^{*}, and the same being suitable to my present purpose, as containing many excellent advices for promoting Christianity in these parts of the world, if this age had a disposition to receive and practise them, I here give the following abstract thereof.

He says, "Let me now first point out the chief impediments that hinder this glorious work, and the reasons that induce me to hope for success in it; and then I shall propose those methods, that I think are most likely to promote the conversion of the Heathen. One of the greatest hinderances to this excellent design, is the want of a sufficient number of missionaries and catechists to carry it on. Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Grundler have not the power of working miracles, and yet it seems miracles are expected from them. What they have already done, shews them to be laborious and indefatigable; they have laid a good foundation, by translating and printing many useful books in the Malabar language: but this, and the charge of their schools, and their adult converts, must employ them so constantly that they are confined as it were within the bounds of Tranquebar, where two missionaries will always be necessary; and there must be others sent up into the country to instruct the natives, settle schools in the villages, and labour continually to promote both the knowledge and practice of religion among them. But in this I foresee another obstacle, if it be not seasonably prevented, and that is, "the mixing of disputable opinions with the plain and necessary doctrines of the gospel." For, Sir, the natives here
are

^{*} See pag. 387.

are generally a quick and penetrating people, who labour under too strong prejudices from their education, which ought not to be increased, by proposing to them any scheme of controverted opinions. Nothing ought to be taught among them but the plain and unquestionable truths of the Christian faith. A third hindrance that must be expected, is, the "violent opposition that the Romish priests will make, when they find that the Protestant missionaries begin to gain ground, and to meet with success in converting the natives." The scheme of popery is so very opposite to the genius and doctrine of the gospel, that the Indians will be extremely surprized at hearing such different accounts of the Christian religion; and seeing that both cannot be in the right, they will be apt to suspect the whole. This prejudice, however, may be overcome by our Protestant missionaries, who can easily confute the Romish priests, by the very same arguments that they urge against the heathen idolatry, and by appealing to the holy scriptures, which the Papists themselves own to be divine. Another impediment will be occasioned by the ill example of those, who profess the Christian religion; but this prejudice will be strongest in their minds who live among the Europeans, and may be overcome in a great measure by the pious and prudent deportment of the missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, who must be employed chiefly in the country, where there are no Europeans to be seen besides themselves. But the greatest obstacle of all, is that unaccountable spirit of bigotry and mad zeal that the natives have for their several Casts or sects; for the sake whereof, the generality of them are ready to sacrifice

sice their lives, and every thing that is dear to them^r. These Casts or parties are distinguished from one another, not only by their different modes of superstition, and observances of what they reckon sacred ; but likewise, by many other little customs and usages in common life, as in their food, eating, habit, trades, &c. For any one of which customs, or their several privileges, they quarrel with as much fury and rage as our sects and parties in Europe. To lose their Cast, or to be abandoned and excommunicated by it, is what they reckon the greatest evil in the world ; if the dread of this can be once overcome, there will be no great difficulty in their conversion. I am informed, that this bigotry is not so great in the country, as we find it in sea-port towns among the Europeans, where the Casts rival one another in point of trade and business ; and these political feuds heighten their zeal or rage against one another, on account of their other observances, which they call religious and sacred. These, Sir, are the main impediments that are most likely to obstruct the conversion of the Indians ; most of the hindrances I have mentioned, may be effectually removed, if proper measures be concerted at home, and executed here with suitable care and application.

“ Let me now lay before you the reasons I have to hope for success in this difficult but generous undertaking. *First*, The reasonableness of the Christian religion gives me great hopes, that it will meet with a ready reception among the Heathen. For since the great design of the gospel is to teach

^r See of these Casts, pag. 67,—69.

teach men the most perfect system of morality, and such other important truths as reason alone could not have discovered, and to enforce the practice of all virtue and piety, by the most moving considerations of the greatest rewards, and the most terrible punishments; a scheme of religion that is so agreeable to the notions of mankind, and contains nothing but what reason must approve and acquiesce in, which gives us such just and worthy thoughts of Almighty God, and the great end and design of our life: I say, such a scheme of doctrine as this, which is in itself so rational, noble, and consistent, and supported by the most convincing proofs that the nature of such truths is capable of; bespeaks the regard and attention of mankind, and powerfully insinuates itself, even upon a prejudiced spirit.—

“Miracles were necessary in the apostolical times, because the gospel was to be preached throughout the world in a short time, and by a few persons whose lives and labours, without the power of miracles, could not have been sufficient to have propagated the gospel with sufficient success: but now the truth of those miracles, which the apostles wrought every where, is as well attested, and is as convincing a proof to sincere and unbiassed minds, as if we had seen them with our own eyes: and a considerable number of missionaries may be employed in the several parts of the world, and by assiduous labour and application, they may, in a course of many years, gain over great numbers to Christianity, without the help of miracles, by the divine blessing. The apostles had the wonderful gift of tongues, which was then absolutely necessary; but now the want of that

that gift may be supplied in a great degree, by study and labour in a natural way; and when our own diligence and charitable endeavours may accomplish the conversion of the Heathen, there is no reason to expect or wait for the power of miracles. But if Almighty God should think fit to vouchsafe a miraculous power, it must be to those who use all other industrious methods that prudence, zeal and charity can suggest: for the use of natural means cannot possibly hinder the course of such supernatural helps as God may be pleased at length to impart. But though it may be questioned, whether the power of miracles be now necessary, we have no reason to doubt, but that Almighty God will accompany the preaching of the gospel to the Heathen, with a double portion of his Spirit and grace, which may have the same effect and influence upon their minds, as if they saw the most astonishing miracles. God will bless the preaching of the gospel with such measures of spiritual assistance, as shall be necessary, to counter-balance the prejudices of the Heathen, and dispose them to a favourable reception of the truth.

“The quick capacity of the natives, is another reason to hope for their speedy conversion to Christianity; I do not mean their skill and ingenuity in all manual arts, wherein they seem to excel the common artificers in Europe, and sometimes out-do the most ingenious, though they will use but few, and those but clumsy tools, in finishing the nicest pieces of work. They are no less remarkable for their skill in arithmetic, and their easy and expeditious way of calculating the most difficult sums and proportions, after a manner unknown
to

to Europeans; this is reckoned but a vulgar attainment among one cast of them, there being a great number that excel in it. They shew no less art and address in their common affairs and business, some of them being masters of a more refined policy and dissimulation, than most can imagine; and all of them, as far as ever I could observe, shew greater sagacity, a quicker fancy, and readier apprehension, even of moral truths, than our common people at home do. I was never better pleased than in seeing, for though I heard, I did not understand, Mr. Ziegenbalg preach to a croud of them, for they shewed so much attention, and seemed so extremely pleased with his undertaking a voyage from Europe to instruct them, and with his humble and familiar way of conversing with them in their own language; and as he afterward told me, they understood him so easily, and made such pertinent objections about the resurrection, and other points, that I thought it was great pity, such numbers of ingenious and seemingly well disposed people, should not have some able missionaries sent out to instruct them.

“ Seeing they are so sagacious and inquisitive, it cannot be thought strange, that the grossness of their superstition, and their absurd belief, should give me some hopes of their conversion: for though they are not capable of making such just reflections as might undeceive them, and free them from the lasting prejudices of education, yet if they were addressed with proper arguments, there could be no great difficulty in convincing them, “ That their forefathers were imposed upon, and that their notions and practices are foolish and absurd.”

“ The

“ The austere and abstemious life that the Indians generally lead, gives me some reason to believe that they might easily be converted to the Christian faith and practice; they would find but little difficulty in the hard and shocking doctrines of temperance, self-denial, poverty, and contempt of the world, for these unpleasing doctrines are in some measure natural to them. Rice is their daily food; their head and middle only are covered with linen; they lie upon the ground; and for houses have only such huts as can screen them from cold, winds and rain: since they are thus contented and happy with the necessaries of life, they do not lie under any great temptation to covetousness, pride, ambition and envy.

“ Another thing which I think must somewhat dispose them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel, is their evenness of temper, and freedom from violent anger, to which Europeans are generally subject. They reckon passion a mean unmannerly thing, and can scarce help smiling when they see others angry, and railing at them in the severest manner. They take every thing in good part, and do not seem to be moved by the highest provocation. If ever passion rages among all sorts of them, 'tis upon account of their casts, for which they think they cannot shew too much zeal and concern; but in their ordinary conversation they shew the greatest temper, mildness and good nature. Upon so good a stock of natural dispositions as they generally have, the Christian virtues might be easily grafted and cultivated to the best purposes.

“ In fine, their acknowledgement of one true God, and of a future state, and the just notions they have of many moral virtues gives us reason

to believe, that they are already somewhat prepared for embracing the other principles of the Christian religion; nor have they only a notion of these things, but some of them shew as great a regard to them in their practice, as most Christians do.

“ Sir, Having this pointed out to you the chief hindrances to the propagation of the gospel in this part of the world, and the great encouragements we have to attempt it; I shall now propose to you those methods that I think might be most effectual in prosecuting this necessary work. To begin at the very source and foundation of it, it will be thought proper, I suppose, and practicable, so to unite the hearts and endeavours of the several societies in England, Denmark, and Germany, who have engaged to support the Protestant mission, that laying aside all distrust and jealousy of one another, concerning the point of national honour, in carrying on this design, and all partiality and prejudices in favour of their several schemes and opinions, they may agree to promote the glory of God, and the conversion of the Heathen by all proper methods and persons, without disputing about rights, precedence or superior direction. Such an union may be begun and carried on by frequent correspondence and friendly communication of advice and assistance to each other, and by such regulations as they shall agree upon for the most speedy and successful management of their affairs.

“ When one common society for promoting the protestant mission is happily formed, one of the first things that can fall under their consideration, is, how to raise a sufficient fund for carrying on

so great a work, towards which 'tis but reasonable, that all charitable Christians will readily contribute. It is not possible to make an exact calculation of the annual expences that will be necessary to subsist the missionaries, and others to be employed under them. But their yearly charge here, in India, cannot be computed less than 3000l. Besides this fund for expences, it were to be wished, that there were colleges erected in Europe, for training up missionaries, and teaching the languages that are necessary for them, viz. the Malabar, Gentoo, Moorish and Portuguese tongues, in each of which they might be somewhat instructed before they come abroad; but chiefly in the Malabar and the Portuguese, which is the *Lingua Franca* used throughout the coast of Coromandel.

“ From such seminaries, the mission must be supplied from time to time, with at least eight well qualified ministers to reside in India; and if a greater number could be sent out, they might be very usefully employed in so great a harvest as here offers.

“ Two of these missionaries will always find sufficient employment at Tranquebar, where a college might be erected for training up catechists and schoolmasters, for the service of the mission. There will be occasion for another missionary, to reside at Fort St. George; and perhaps for one at Fort St. David's, to educate school-masters, take the charge of schools to be erected in and about these settlements, and to facilitate a correspondence among the other missionaries, whose business it must be to travel up into the country, with catechists and assistants, there to preach to the natives,

tives, settle schools in their villages, and distribute among them abstracts of the Christian religion, engraven or written on the most durable materials.

“For the better management of the whole work, the missionary who shall reside at Fort St. George, and one of those at Tranquebar, might be invested with some authority over the rest, to direct their progress, and stations, determine their differences, and negotiate the affairs of their mission; and it seems no less necessary, that some of them be empowered to ordain Gentile proselytes to the ministry.

“To prevent all disputes about religion, and further the propagation of it among the natives, it will be necessary, that not only a short abstract of the Christian doctrine, but likewise a larger catechism, containing all proper, especially practical instruction, be composed by some judicious members of the Society in Europe for the use of the mission; and that no sort of books be printed or used by any of the missionaries, but such as shall be approved and recommended by the society.

“That the itinerant catechists, missionaries, &c. may not be molested nor interrupted, they must be powerfully recommended to the favour and protection of the governors at Fort St. George and Tranquebar; who, by their letters, testimonial and recommendatory, may procure not only protection from the governors of the inland provinces, but likewise their favour and good-will to the missionaries and their assistants.

“Since the success of the mission in some measure depends upon the abilities and good conduct of the persons to be employed in it, the greatest

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care must be had in chusing them, that none may be sent, but such as are learned and laborious, and remarkable for their prudence, good temper and Christian zeal.

“ It will be necessary, that the missionaries hold a punctual correspondence, and frequent conferences with one another, on any particular emergence, and transmit copies of them from time to time, both to Fort St. George and Tranquebar, to be thence forwarded to the society in Europe.

“ One of the most effectual ways the missionaries can take to propagate the gospel among the natives, and procure their good-will, is to begin charity-schools in their villages, and to stay several days among them, in teaching and instructing the more advanced in age; and they must leave a school-master in every considerable place, to teach their children to read, write, and cast accounts after their own way: to which villages the missionaries ought to return again, to visit, instruct, and encourage such as seem inclined to embrace the Christian religion, and may leave a catechist among them, when they make converts, or ordain him a minister, and settle a church in any place where they meet with sufficient success.

“ It being absolutely necessary, that they who undertake the conversion of the Heathen, live strictly according to that pure and holy religion they teach and profess; the missionaries must not only set a shining example of piety and all heroic virtue, but they must keep up the strictest order and discipline among those that assist them, lest any disorder in their lives should give offence and scandal to the natives, and obstruct their conversion:

tion: and therefore, none ought to be employed as catechists, till they have sufficient proofs of their sincerity and steadfastness.

"Thus, Sir, I have freely communicated to you my thoughts concerning the most effectual way of propagating the gospel in this part of the world, which I freely submit to the judgment of the honourable society. I am sensible the proposals I have made are too general, and defective in many particulars; for I designed only to mention such things as to me seem essential and necessary.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM STEVENSON."

If these and other proper methods were religiously followed, who knows how soon a divine blessing might crown them with success? and the fulness of the Gentiles might be gathered to Christ. Wherever pious endeavours were used by good men, they were always attended with some desirable fruit, which did more than recompence their labours.

I proceed now to offer a few arguments to excite us to act with holy zeal and concern in promoting the conversion of the Heathen. In the first place, a very great part of the world is at this day under woful ignorance of God, the times of Gentilism are called the times of ignorance¹, the Gentiles are said not to know God², to be without God³, to sit in darkness⁴. The Pagan nations are said to be *the dark places of the earth, that are full of*

¹ Acts xvii 30. ² Gal iv. 8. ³ Eph. ii 12. ⁴ Matth. iv. 16.

*the habitations of cruelty*⁷. This woful ignorance is the source and fountain from which a deluge of evils does spring. When they knew not God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness—to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful⁸. These evils of sin do bring down all miseries upon them; they are in the region and shadow of death, dead in sins and trespasses, wherein in time past they walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience—and were by nature children of wrath⁹. The way of salvation is hid from them. They are in the path that leads to eternal ruin, for Christ will be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power¹⁰. This deplorable condition of so great a part of the world, under heathenish infidelity and idolatry, as described in the

⁷ Psalm lxxiv. 20.⁸ Romans, i. 21,—32.⁹ Eph. ii. 1, 2, 3.¹⁰ 2 Thess. i. 8, 9.—

the seventh chapter of this history, should move our hearts to pity them, and to use all endeavours to deliver them from the snare of the devil, the enemy of mankind, who seeks only to make them sharers of those eternal miseries prepared for him and his angels; and to bring them into the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they may share of his purchase, and to eternity may sing the praises of him who has redeemed us to God, by his blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation.

Secondly, The sending of the gospel to these nations, and spreading the knowledge of God among them, would be a proper mean to prevent these miseries, and a choice remedy to all these evils. *When the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord*, then there shall be a blessed change upon the hearts and lives of men, *the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid*^c. Men of fierce, cruel, and rugged dispositions, shall be subdued, sweetened, and reclaimed from their inhumanity and barbarity. The knowledge of God, makes Satan's kingdom fall like lightning^d. In the primitive times, when the gospel was propagated over the Gentile world, *Dagon did fall before the Ark*; the altars, images, and superstitions of the Heathen, with the whole frame of their idolatry, were demolished. The names of Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. are now wholly buried among these nations who formerly adored them; and the spreading of the gospel thro' the earth at this day, would be a blessed mean of purging out the idolatry that remains, and of reclaiming

^c Isaiah xi. 6—9. ^d Luke x. 18.

claiming multitudes from their gross abominations. The attempts that have been used since the reformation from Popery in New-England, and in the East Indies, have been crowned with some desirable success. The Papists themselves, as Joseph Acosta, and Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, who travelled in that work, declare, that the Pagans in Peru, and in the vast dominions possessed by the Spaniards in America, are a people of an easy temper, capable of receiving instruction, had not the barbarous cruelties of the Spaniards, which the last of these authors particularly relates, having been eye-witness to them, filled the poor people with prejudices, and disappointed the good designs of their conversion. Let us therefore use our utmost endeavours to promote this good work, wherever we have access; and look to our gracious God, that, by a mighty effusion of his spirit, and by a day of his power, he may bless the whole with success.

Thirdly, the conversion of the Heathen nations would be a special mean to advance the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ over the world. Then would his enemies become his footstool; "Then shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace be as long as the moon endureth; he shall have dominion from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his enemies shall lick the dust—Yea, all kings shall fall down before him, all nations shall serve him." The potentates in the East and West Indies, and all the idolatrous and barbarous nations

* Psalm cx. 1. Psalm lxxii. 7,—12.

tions formerly described^c, shall submit to him. Then shall our Redeemer "go forth with his crown and his bow, conquering and to conquer^d. His enemies shall be clothed with shame, but upon himself shall his crown flourish^e. The wilderness shall be a fruitful field^f, the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, the glory of Lebanon shall be given to it; they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God—Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing; for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert^g." When we in this part of the world are weary of the gospel, strangers shall with joy receive it, "and many shall come from the East and the West, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God^h." The dead bones shall then live and stand on their feet, an exceeding great army. This will make all that love our Lord Jesus rejoice, and a bright lustre of religion and piety shall fill the earth. Christianity is not calculated for one nation or country only, but by the great author thereof, is wisely adapted for all mankind. 'Tis the concern even of kings, princes, and the great ones in the earth, to advance our Redeemer's kingdom; this would make their government flourish, establish their kingdom, entail a blessing upon their posterity, make the present generation of the righteous to pray for blessings to them from the throne of grace, and "the generation to come shall call them blessed:" yea, thus

^c Above chap. vii. ^d Rev. vi. 2. ^e Psalm cxxxii. 18. ^f Isa. xxxii. 15. ^g Ibid. Chap. xxxv. ^h Matth. viii. 11.

thus when their time shall be no more, they shall secure for themselves a crown of glory.

Fourthly, The conversion of the nations, and their subjection to the kingdom of the Messiah our Saviour, is promised through the whole book of God, as a special New-Testament blessing. The glorious Jehovah says to our Redeemer, "I will give thee as a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth^m." The church of the Gentiles that was long barren, "shall have more children than the church of the Jews. For thus saith the Lord, enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes, for thou shalt break forth on the right hand, and on the left, and thy seed shall inherit the Gentilesⁿ." To our Shiloh, or promised Messiah, shall the gathering of the people be^o. The Heathen are given to him for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession^p." With many other promises of that kind, of which several are marked at the foot of the page^q. Now, though many of these promises be already performed, in the conversion of the nations from the time of our Lord's ascending up into heaven, and pouring out of his spirit at the day of Pentecost, unto the present time, as in the foregoing history; yet there is a fuller performance of them to be expected before the end of the world; for our Lord himself foretold, "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in

^m Isaiah xlix 6 ⁿ Ibid liv. 1.—4. ^o Genesis xlix 10. ^p Psalm ii. 8. ^q See Isaiah xl. 10 and ii. 2, 3. Micah iv. 1, 2. Isaiah xlix. 21. Ibid. xlii. 6, 7. chap. xliii. 5, 6. chap. lx. 3. chap. lxii. 2. chap. lxvi. 12. Zech. ii. 10, 11. Malachi i. 11, &c.

in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come." Though this was in part fulfilled by the propagation of the gospel, by the Apostles and Evangelists over the Roman empire, before the end of the Jewish state by the desolating wars of Vespasian and Titus; yet I see no reason why it may not be extended to a further propagation of the gospel to the remote Heathens in Asia, Africa, and America, before the end of time. The apostle Paul tells us, "That blindness is happened to Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." Intimating, that after the conversion of the Jews, or about that time, there shall be a more glorious and full conversion of the Gentiles than ever was before. After the fall of Romish Babylon, "the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ". There is a time coming when our Lord shall be king over all the earth. In that day there shall be one Lord, and his name one." Since we are encouraged by these precious promises, to expect a more glorious day of the conversion of the nations, and of their subjection to our Redeemer, and the time, I hope, is near; ought not every Christian to pray, long and wait for that time, and contribute his best endeavours to promote so great a work. This would silence the clamour of parties, would confirm the truth of our holy religion, by discovering the plenary accomplishment of scripture-prophecies and promises; would stop the mouth of infidelity and atheism; chase wickedness and impiety out of the world,

¹ Matth xxiv. 14. ² Romans xi. 25. ³ Rev. xi. 15. ⁴ Zech. xiv. 9.

world, and make peace, holiness, and righteousness spring up and flourish as the flowers of the field.

Fifthly, This duty of converting the nations, of instructing the ignorant, reclaiming the wandering, and bringing home the strangers to be members of the mystical body of Christ, is in a special manner incumbent upon the pastors of Christ's church. We are obliged to propagate the saving knowledge of Christ among all men so far as we can, and as orderly called by the very words and main tenor of that commission from which we derive our office: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature". Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always even to the end of the world'." Endeavour to make all nations disciples to Christ, baptizing them, and instructing them to believe and obey the gospel; and to encourage you in this, I give you the promise of my presence and assistance with you, and your successors in office, in the discharge of this work to the end of the world. Ministers of the gospel have the most noble examples to imitate, of our blessed Lord, of his holy apostles, of many apostolic men in the primitive church, and of many others in the subsequent ages, and even since the reformation from Popery, whom we have mentioned in this history; and we have the most excellent arguments to quicken our zeal, for *they that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever*

ever and ever^a. If our predecessors had not exerted themselves to recover these lands out of the snare of the devil, we had been yet in the state of heathenism; let us do as much for the subsequent ages, as our predecessors have done for us. 'Tis true, none are to run unsent upon the holy ministry, far less upon so difficult a part of it; but it may be the work of the gravest convocations of the clergy, of presbyteries, synods, or national assemblies, regularly to send proper persons to labour in this work of converting the nations, to encourage them, and notice their success; which would be of greater importance than most affairs that come under our consideration. I am sensible, that any thing I can offer, is but the opinion of a private and unskilled hand; but such synods have greater authority, can deliberate in what they propose, and see the same put in execution: and I wish they may do it to good purpose, and that the Lord may crown the whole with success.

Sixthly, Not only the pastors of the church, but also every Christian in his station should act with zeal in this matter, to chase the devil out of those large territories he is yet possessed of in Asia, Africa and America, and to make those strangers subject to the kingdom of Christ. The learned and inquisitive Joseph Mede, who writes many things singular and curious, speaking of the first Gentile inhabitants, and the late Christian Plantations in America, is of opinion, "Though perhaps, says he^b, I cannot prove it, that those countries were first inhabited since our Saviour and his apostle's time, there being no signs or foot-steps

^a Daniel xii. 3.

^b Joseph Mede's works in 4to. vol. 2. page 549 & seq.

steps found among them of any older habitations. The devil being impatient of the sound of the gospel of Christ in every part of this old world, and foreseeing, that he was at length like to lose all here, he thought to provide himself a seed, over which he might reign securely; and accordingly drew a colony out of some of those barbarous nations dwelling on the northern ocean, to whom the sound of Christ had not yet come, and promising them by some oracle, to shew them a country far better than their own, which he might soon do, pleasant and large, where never man yet inhabited; he conducted them over these desert lands and islands, which are many in that sea, into America.—And here it is to be noted, that the story of the Mexican kingdom, (which was not founded above 400 years before our people from Europe came thither) relates out of their own memorials and traditions, that their god Vitziliputzli led them, going in an ark before them.—But see the hand of Divine Providence, when the offspring of these runnagates had now replenished that other world, and began to flourish in the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico, the Lord sends his mastiffs the Spaniards to hunt them out and worry them; which they did in so hideous a manner as the like was scarce ever done since the sons of Noah came out of the Ark. What an affront is this to Satan, where he had thought to live securely, and to have his subjects for ever concealed! Yet the Devil perhaps is less grieved for destroying his servants, than he would be to lose them by bringing them to the saving knowledge of Christ. I doubt the Spaniards have thus spoiled him of very few. What then, if Christ

our Lord will give him this second affront with better Christians? which may be more grievous to him than the former." This will be a work glorifying to God, and to our blessed Saviour, to chase the Devil out of these large territories, where he thought to have reigned securely, and to bring these outcasts cheerfully to submit to the kingdom of Christ, that at length they may reign with him in glory.

* The great precepts and examples of our holy religion should stir us up to zeal in this matter. The primitive Christians early discovered their affection to Christ by bringing others to him. When the apostle Andrew was called, he finds his brother Simon^b, and saith to him, *We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ; and he brought him to Jesus.* When Philip was converted he finds Nathanael, and said unto him, *We^c have found him of whom Moses, the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.* And Nathanael said to him, *Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?* Philip said unto him, *Come and see.* The woman of Samaria no sooner found the Messias, but she runs and calls the whole city to be partakers of her happiness^d. Christ bids Peter, *When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren^e.* This would be a token of reviving, when the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it; then many people shall go and say, *Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths^f.* God gives us grace, that

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^b John i. 40,—42.

^c John i. 45, 46.

^d John iv. 28,—30.

^e Luke xxii. 32.

^f Isaiah li. 2, 3.

we may be *as dew from the Lord, and as the showers upon the grass* ^a, that we may water others. This is the way to obtain increase of grace to our own souls, for *the liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered again* ^b. And this will be had in gracious remembrance by God, as acceptable service, and plentifully rewarded ^c. Shall the Popish missionaries compass sea and land to make proselytes, and we Protestants loiter, sit still, and do nothing? Shall sinners entice one another to serve the enemy of mankind to their eternal ruin, and shall not we be more zealous to bring perishing souls to Christ, that they may obtain eternal happiness through him? The very Mahometans run about the world to gain proselytes for their beastly prophet Mahomet, and shall the children of the kingdom only want this desire, this zeal, this endeavour? Impossible! If any such be, they are bastards, and not sons. Do we not see every citizen, every member of any company or society, how eagerly they desire, and how forward they are to advance the enlargement and good of the commonwealth or society whereof they are members? Who is nobly descended, but desires the good of his house and kindred? What good subject but wisheth the increase of his king's subjects, the amplifying his dominions, and the revenues of his crown? How can we be members of Christ's kingdom, if we desire not the increase of his subjects? We pray to God daily, *Let thy Kingdom come*; let that which is our daily prayer be our daily endeavour, or we cannot in sincerity call *God our Father*, nor expect he will

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^a Micah v. 7.^b Proverbs xi. 25.^c Malachi iii. 16, 17.

own us as his children. All things in nature desire the propagation of their kind; the fire is no sooner kindled, but it will presently turn all it lays hold upon into its own nature; 'tis as possible for the sun to want light, and the fire to be without heat, as for the fire of grace to be kindled in their hearts, who endeavour not to enflame others with the same. I shall also bespeak my reader in the words of the pious and learned Danish missionaries, who have been frequently mentioned in this and in the former chapter. They say*, "Christianity softens the heart to tender inclinations; 'tis of a communicative and overflowing nature, whereas, wicked men are of most narrow and confined spirits, so contracted by the pinching particularities of earthly and created things, so imprisoned in a dark dungeon of sensuality and selfishness, so straitened through their carnal designs and ends, that they cannot stretch themselves beyond the horizon of time and sense. Truly, a soul that's made partaker of this heavenly amplitude, will expose herself to all hazards and difficulties, to prevent the eternal ruin of others. If religion makes those who are rooted in it lay down their lives for their brethren, then without doubt such must be strangers to it, who grudge at a little labour or expence, for those precious souls who are in the way to come over to the bosom of the church. We see how eager those of the Romish party are to push on their designs up and down the Heathen world, from the east to the west, and the extreme readiness of great numbers of their clergy, to expose themselves

* Propagation of the Gospel in the East, part 2. Preface, p. 6.

seives to all manner of perils by sea and land, for the propagation of the Christian faith in the infidel world. And 'tis well known, that some of them have boasted, when they are maintaining theirs to be the Catholic church, that their loss in Europe by what they call the Northern Heresy, has been more than made up to them by the accession of such vast numbers to their communion, as within these two last centuries have been added to them from among the Heathen nations. I know what the common evasions of Protestants, in relation to the Popish missionaries, is, viz. That they do not act upon a good principle, that they have no other end in what they undertake, than to promote the interest of their party, which at last would prove an undermining rather than advancing the gospel of Christ. But as on the one hand I do not design at all to justify the conduct of the Romish missionaries, their method being generally too slight, and unbecoming the gravity of a missionary of Christ; so, on the other, I cannot see with what reason Protestants should act nothing, because they observe others act irregularly. Certainly, if the Roman missionaries act upon a selfish foundation, Protestants ought to act upon a more solid one; if they act upon a partial principle, Protestants ought to act on a principle more universal, more favouring of the spirit of Christ, and more attended with universal love and benignity. If the method of Roman catholics seem too shallow, dead, and superficial to us, Protestants ought then to carry it higher, to inspire their converts with the power of religion, to stir up the will to a ready compliance with the commands of God. If these acquiesce in a pompous, though

dead performance of a ceremonious worship; we ought then to preach up so much the more an inward and vital principle, sending forth good works, as so many free and unconstrained emanations. And, in fine, do they venture life and limb, compass sea and land to make profelytes to their party, and all this by the influence of human authority, should not then Protestants, under the gracious influence of God himself, carry things considerably beyond what these are able to do."

To excite us to zeal in this matter, I shall also use the words of some sermons preached before the society in England, for *propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts*. "Shall I tell you, says the bishop of Sarum¹, what we have often heard as a national reflection? that none of the foreign churches have been so faulty in this respect as we of this church and nation, while none had greater advantages in well established and populous colonies, and in the vast returns of advantageous trade: let not our plantations have cause to accuse us, while they are hard at work for us, and while their products are so charged, that they have but a small part of the gain that is made by them, so that they are too low to contribute this way; yet those among us, whose dealings with them God has blessed with the hundred fold even in this world, are backward in assisting them in their spiritual concerns, when they are beginning to offer toward it themselves, even beyond their strength. Let those who have a true zeal

¹ Bishop of Sarum's sermon in the year 1703.

zeal for the honour of our church, contribute to raise her glory, which has been hitherto too little advanced this way, while those who divide from us in New-England, seem to have provoked us to jealousy on this account. Let no objections that may be made against the thing, as if the design were hopeless, and must be unsuccessful, shut up any man's hand or heart. Things of this nature must go on slowly, and meet with great obstructions and many difficulties, chiefly at first; but where the work is acceptable to God, a more than ordinary blessing may be well looked for, if we be not wanting on our part.

Another reverend prelate, before the same honourable society, discourses thus^m: "If it be considered how vast a tract of ground we have on the continent, and how many islands we possess of lesser note; that some of them have no ministers at all, that none of them have so many as their occasions call for; it would fright one to think how much is to be done, and how little there is to do it withal.—But God, whose glory is so nearly concerned, will not suffer it to fail for want of supplies. He will dispose the good and generous to turn a part of their charity into this channel. He will inspire us with a tender regard to the spiritual necessities of these poor brethren by whose daily labours, the flourishing condition of this poor kingdom is in so great a measure supported. To bring all nations under the dominion of Christ, in this new discovered world, as well as that which formerly engrossed the name, is glorious employment for heroic Christians; 'tis

a duty incumbent upon them, and 'tis that which God in his good time will certainly bring to pass.

Another prelate discourses thus: "How shall they hear without a preacher? How shall they preach except they be sent? And how shall they be sent, except they be supplied with what is necessary for their subsistence and encouragement? And how can our charity be better employed, than to have the Gentiles made obedient in word and deed? We should add endeavours to our prayers, and do what in us lies, for accomplishing so glorious an end. Time was, when the inhabitants of this island were as barbarous as the Indians are now. Gentiles carried away unto dumb idols, even as they were led. And we might have so continued to this day, had it not been for the special favour of God, and the industry of these apostolical persons; as St Paul, who travelled from Jerusalem, and round to Illyricum, to Spain, and even to the British Isles, fully preaching the gospel of Christ. And should not we be moved with the like generous compassion, and hearken to those, who with the Macedonian spirit call to us, "Come over to the Indies and help us?" Shall not we do what in us lies, by sending or being sent among them; by serving or providing for them that enter upon and offer themselves to this service? that the eyes of such poor wretches may be opened, and they turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God."

Let us further consider the amazing conduct of divine providence, in propagating and preserving the holy

holy Christian religion in all ages, not by might, nor by force of arms, but by the efficacy of the gospel, accompanied by the spirit of God. This demonstrates our religion to be divine, and confirms the certainty and truth thereof; so that the whole history of its propagation, from first to last, deduced in the foregoing essay, is one continued argument of the truth of Christianity, with which we began, and now conclude this work. Who but the glorious God, who made the world out of nothing, could have propagated the doctrine revealed by his own Son, and confirmed by his death and sufferings, all the world over, in spite of all the allurements of flesh and blood, and all the powers of hell and earth; and that when other superstitions invented by men dwindled into nothing? Who, but this God, could have so displayed the beauty of the gospel-church over all Europe, Asia, Africa, and America? And the longer the beauty of this church shines, the more glorious will it appear; "at the evening it shall be light." Now, when we have so many great examples of eminent men in church and state set before us, who have been active to propagate our religion in every century, should not we follow the same? That the conquests of our Redeemer may be extended "from the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same; that his name may be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense may be offered to his name, and a pure offering. That his name may be remembered in all generations; that all the people may praise him, and the whole earth may be filled with his glory."

And now, to conclude, how many momentous arguments

arguments have we to stir us up to act with life and vigour in this matter! All the mighty powers of eternal loving kindness, that love of God which sent his own Son into the world, to save and enlighten our souls with these heavenly doctrines, all the wonders of mercy, and the triumphs of a dying Redeemer's grace, with an united force, flow into our hearts, and conspire to warm our affections with a heavenly flame, in the cause of our Saviour. The native beauty and simplicity of gospel-truths, surrounded with all the glories of our Saviour's death and love, attended with all the highest powers of duty, gratitude, and generosity, and testified by the loudest applauses of heavenly hosts, can never miss to furnish an endless train, and an inexhaustible force of motives. Can there be a breast in which they will fail to make an impression? Behold our exalted Lord, looking down from his throne to encourage and enliven us; he is expecting what we will do for his honour, and how our bowels are moved within us; he points out his blood and wounds, which saved us from everlasting death, the cross he endured, and the shame he despised, that he might make us happy; the scorn of the multitude, the rage and hatred of the learned, the madness and blindness of the rulers of this world, yea, the hellish efforts of the infernal host, which could never shake his resolution, nor make him desert our cause: he represents to our view the light and joy of a reconciled God, and the eternal pleasures of heaven; and he makes bare his glorious arm, which pulled us out of hell, and drove back the devouring flames. He looks; after such an amazing and delightful prospect, what returns we will make

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make to him. Ought we not to be influenced by what our Saviour tells us; "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my father who is in heaven."

Can we ever act as we are obliged, to promote the glory of our blessed Lord and Redeemer, *who loved us and washed us with his own blood*, who purchased our Salvation with his own death and sufferings? Can any momentary hardships we can endure for propagating his name over the world, be compared with what he did and suffered for us? He supports, encourages, and sympathizes with us under all our labour and toil; he sweetens our way, and prepares for us a crown of glory. Should not zeal for the glory of our God, desire for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, perishing under darkness and infidelity, and a pious concern for our Saviour's kingdom, animate us with a holy warmth in this matter? "That there may be one fold and one shepherd; that God, even our God, may bless us, and all the ends of the earth may fear him." Amen.

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 Joseph Greenoak, shoe-maker, Linlithgow
 James Gillies, do.
 Francis Grindley, cooper, Bo-ness
 William Gray, weaver, Whitburn
 George Gardner, Portioner, Airdrie
 Henry Galloway, vintner, Glasgow
 John Gentiles, shoe-maker, Glenhoove
 Archibald Gardner, weaver, Airdrie
 Archibald Glen, coalhewer, High Dennistoun

Mess. John Gouthier, shoe-maker, Laverock-hall
 James Gilchrist taylor
 Gavin Gray, weaver, Lanark
 Robert Gray, stocking-maker, Ayr
 John Grier, shoe-maker, Cumnock
 Dougald Gray, Crawfords-dyke
 William Gibb, sawer, Greenock.

H

Mess. Ninian Hill, sen. old Calender, Paisley
 William Hamilton, New town of Paisley
 Archibald Hastie, baker, do.
 George Hood, wright, do.
 John Hunter, weaver, Paisley
 Alexander Hamilton, do. do.
 William Harvie, do. do.
 William Hamilton, do. do.
 George Howat, do. do.
 Thomas How, do. Maxwellton
 Charles Hamilton, do. Ferguslie
 James Hewit, do. do.
 James Harvie, wright, Paisley
 James Howet, weaver, do.

Mess. William Hopkins, shoe-maker, Dunlop
 Robert Harper, weaver, High Chapelton
 George Haddow, wright, Kilmarnock
 James Henderson, shoe-maker, do.
 Adam Harris, smith, Riccarton
 Ronald Hunter, shoe-maker, Ayr
 Thomas Harvie, coal-hewer, Stevenston
 James Hind, do. do.
 John Hunter, jun. sinker, Quarrelton
 Thomas Hyndman, weaver, Dalry
 Thomas Howie, carrier, Beith
 William Holm, wright, Lochwinnoch
 William Hunter, mason, do.
 Joseph Hall, coal-hewer, Thorn
 Archibald Houston, wright, Houston
 William Hart, baker, Greenock
 James Hatrick, sawer, do.
 Matthew Holmes, sawer, Port-glasgow
 William Houston, do. do.
 George Hay, wright, Glasgow
 John Hastie, mason, Whitburn
 James Henderson, do. Glasgow
 Daniel Marshall, portioner, Calton

Malcom Horn, labourer, Possil
 William Hutchison, shoe-maker
 James Hamilton, taylor
 Edward Hamilton, do. Glasgow
 Alexander Hamilton, stocking-maker, do.
 Andrew Hotson, wright, do.
 John Hewit, weaver, Anderston
 Robert Hunter, do. Glasgow
 Alexander Harvie, do. do.
 James Hyndman, jun. do. do.
 Walter Hamilton, do. do.
 John Hutchison, do. do.
 James Henderson, brick-maker, Calton
 John Hamilton, weaver, Bridgeton
 John Hastie, do. do.
 Robert Hill, do. do.
 Alexander Hall, Pollock-shaws
 William Hart, merchant, do.
 John Harvie, weaver, Anderston
 James Hewit, do. do.
 Alexander Hardie, miller
 George Howatt, weaver, Goven
 James Hall, cutter, Milton

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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James Henderson, do. Glasgow
Daniel Marshall, portioner, Calton

Mess. James Henderson, weaver, Bannockburn
Andrew Henderson, smith, Alloa
Alexander Harrower, shoe-maker, do.
John Hall, moulder, Carron
Archibald Hardie, shoe-maker, Linlithgow
George Hardie, do. do.
Wm. Hamilton, clock-maker, Whitburn
John Hamilton, stocking-maker, Airdrie
Adam Hamilton, bleacher, Lounddale
James Hamilton, weaver, Hamilton
George Henshelwood, do. Lanark
Logan Hodge, tailor, Mauchline
John Hunter, merchant, Galfon
Archibald Hodge, weaver, Newmills
William Hunter, do. Lochwinnoch
John Hanna, do. do.
Wm. Hamilton, mason and wright, Howden
John Hope, candle-maker, Stirling
Robert Hepburn, weaver, Paisley
William Houston, do. Kilbarchan
James Hardie, do. Glasgow

George Howat, weaver, Govan
James Hall, cutter, Milton

I J.
Mess. Robert Jaap, weaver, Fairhill
Robert Jamieson, do. Paisley
William Johnston, do. do.
Wm. Johnston, shoe-maker, Lochwinnoch
Walter Jarvie, wright, New town of Johnstone
Daniel Jerdan, sewer, Greenock
Daniel Johnston, weaver, do.
William Jarvey, wright, Port-glasgow
George Johnston, farmer, Possil
Walter Jape, coal-hewer, Barony Parish
James Jack, weaver, Glasgow
James Johnston, weaver, Calton
James Ingram, do. do.
Robert Johnston, do. do.
Thomas Jackson, labourer, Rutherglen
Hugh Jamieson, weaver, Gorbals
William Jaffray, ditto, Cumberbarne
William Johnston, copper-smith, Stirling
James Jaffray, weaver, Bainsford
Alex. Jaffray, nailer, Whins of Milton
Robert Jaffray, weaver, do.

Mess. Robert Kirkwood, flax-dresser, Beith
 James Kirkwood, weaver, do.
 Robert Kerr, tailor, Greenock
 James Kemp, gardener, Port-glasgow
 Robert King, mason, Glasgow
 James Karr, tailor, do.
 Archibald Key, wright, do.
 John Keir, weaver, do.
 John Kirkwood, printer, Milton
 Malcolm Kincaid, weaver, Campsie
 James Kerr, do. Kirkintilloch
 Thomas Kirkwood, do. Kilsyth
 John King, nailer, do.
 William Kerr, coal hewer, Bannockburn
 John King, stocking-maker, Alloa
 John Kyle, East Kilbryde
 Richard Kirkland, weaver, Airdrie
 Robert Kerr, wheel-wright, Motherwell
 John King, farmer, Onthank
 John Kirkwood, weaver, Paisley
 Hugh Kennedy, baker, Ayr

Mess. Robert Jack, weaver, Airdrie
 James Johnston, jun Langloan
 John Jamieson, clock-maker, Hamilton
 James Inglis, weaver, New-mills
 William Jamieson, do. Strathaven
 Hugh Jamieson, plowman, Castlesemple
 Walter Johnston, Barony Parish
 William Junkan, nailer, Whins of Milton
 George Neilson, weaver, Airdrie

K.

Mess. James Kelly, merchant, Paisley
 William Kerr, weaver, do.
 William Kennedy, do. do.
 Charles Knox, flax-dresser, do.
 Alex. Knox, bonnet-maker, Stewartown
 Hugh Kay, weaver, Kilmarnock
 James Kirkwood, shoe-maker, Newton upon
 Ayr
 Alexander King, wright, Stevenston
 William Kirkwood, smith, Dalry
 William Kennedy, weaver, Beith

Matthew Lindsay, sawer, Kilbarchan
 Robert Long, dyer, Greenock

Matthew Lindsay, sawer, Kilbarchan
 Robert Lang, dyer, Greenock
 John Langwill, wright, do.
 John Lobb, sawer, do.
 William Lapslay, hair-dresser, do.
 Andrew Logan, shoe-maker, do.
 Robert Lyon, do. do.
 James Leckie, rope-maker, Port-glasgow
 James Liddell, smith, Glasgow
 David Liddell, stocking-maker, do.
 James Lindsay, smith, do.
 John Lochhead
 George Lindsay, weaver, Glasgow
 David Liddel, do. do.
 Archibald Lang, do. Calton
 Daniel Livingston, do. Pollock-shaws
 Alexander Livingston, do. do.
 James Lindsay, printer, Water of Leven
 George Leishman, shoemaker, Denny
 Robert Lawrie, weaver, Cumberbarn
 William Law, shoe-maker, Linlithgow
 John Liddel, stocking-maker, Airdrie
 James Leck, weaver, Midquaffer

L.
 Mrs. Margaret Lemon, Ayr
 Mess. William Leitch, bleacher, Glanderston
 Allan Leis, do. do.
 Robert Lochhead, weaver, Paisley
 Thomas Lochhead, do. New town do.
 John Lindsay, do. do.
 John Litch, do. Paisley
 James Lindsay
 John Laird, weaver, Paisley
 George Leitch, do. do.
 George Leckie do. do.
 Archibald Lothian, do. do.
 William Lamont, do. do.
 Alex. Lamberton, shoe-maker, Stewartown
 Andrew Littlejohn, weaver, Kilmarnock
 Robert Lang, do. Paisley
 Thomas Lamie, wright, Kilmarnock
 John Lamie, mason, do.
 William Lachlan, wright, do.
 George Lyell, Monkton
 Peter Logan, taylor, Irvine
 William Lusk, shoe-maker, Saltcoats

Rev. Mr. David Lindsay, Clackmannan
 Mess. John Lightbody, clock-maker, Lanark
 Thomas Law, shoe-maker, Carnwath
 Thomas Lorrimer, farmer, Sanquhar
 James Lorrimer, smith, Kirkconnalle
 Thomas Lambert, shoemaker, Kilmarnock,
 George Lang, hat-maker, Glasgow
 Thomas Leitch, weaver, Greenock
 Malcolm Love, tailor, ditto
 William Lygate, shoe-maker, East Kil-
 bride

James Logan, weaver, Anderston
 David Logan, Mason, Kilburnie

M

Mess. Hugh Mair, shoe-maker, Paisley
 Daniel Montgomery, New town of do.
 Daniel M'Fie, weaver, do.
 Murdoch M'Pherson, do do.
 Matthew M'Millan, do. do.
 John M'Kinlay, wright
 James M'Kinzie, weaver, New town of
 Paisley

Allan M'Dougal, nailer, do.
 William Mair, weaver, do.
 William M'Farlane, do. do.
 Walter M'Alpine, do do.
 James M'Farlane, distiller, do.
 Hugh Montgomery, mason
 John M'Farland, weaver, Paisley
 John Miller, do do.
 Hugh M'Gallan, do. do.
 Alexander M'Ewen, do do.
 William M'Kim, do do.
 John M'Kinzie, do do.
 Hugh Mitchell, shoemaker, do.
 John M'Ree, do do.
 Alexander Martin, cutler, do.
 John M'Kay, tailor, do.
 Charles Miller, weaver, do.
 Thomas Matthie do. do.
 John M'Adam, do. do.
 Campbell M'Killop, shoe-maker, do.
 Alexander M'Millan, shoemaker, do.
 James Mann, weaver, do.
 James Montgomery, wright, do.

Mess. Alexander Muir, weaver, Paisley
 Mess. John McRaith, shoe-maker, Ayr
 Daniel Marquis, weaver, Irvine

Mess. Alexander Muir, weaver, Paisley
 Edward Maxwell, do. do.
 Duncan McFarland, do. do.
 John McEwen, do. Maxwelltown
 William Murray, do. do.
 James Maitland, printer, Denny
 Alexander Morrison, weaver, Paisley
 Walter McFarland, do. do.
 William Miller, do. do.
 Duncan McGrigor, tailor, do.
 Alexander Miller
 James Miller, wright, Kilmaurs
 Alexander Muir, weaver, Kilmarnock
 John McArra, nailer, do.
 Henry Mufhet, do. do.
 William Murdoch, wheel-wright, Ayr
 John McAllan, shoe-maker, do.
 John McGechin, mason, do.
 John McNeil, shoe-maker, do.
 William Marr, weaver, do.
 James Miller, wright, do.
 James McKean, copper-smith, do.
 George Manson, smith, Newton, near Ayr

Mess. John McRaith, shoe-maker, Ayr
 Daniel Marquart, weaver, Irvine
 William Millar, do. do.
 David Muir, shoe-maker, do.
 Samuel Muir, stocking-maker, Kilwinning
 Robert McLean, weaver, Dalry
 William Miller, do. do.
 John McLachlan, shoe-maker, Lochwin-
 nioc
 Duncan McAllan, spinner, New town of
 Johnston
 Malcom McCallum, do. do.
 Hugh McIlraith, refidenter, do.
 Robert Montgomery, cotton manufacturer,
 do.
 James McCallum, Drumsrocher
 Robert McFarland, wright, Greenock
 Robert McCann, weaver, do.
 Peter, McAuslan, sawer, do.
 Daniel Morrison, wright, do.
 Archibald McNeil, shoe-maker, do.
 Dougald McCallum, do. do.
 Daniel McLachlan, do. do.

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Mess. Robert McQuillan, Flax-dresser, Greenock	Mess. Robert Millar, weaver, Cambuslang
Findlay McQuislan, shoe-maker, do.	William Miller, bookseller, Glasgow, 6 copies
Alexander McDonald, smith, do.	Donald McIntyre, wright, do.
Moses McCoull, sawer, do.	James McKechnie, shoe-maker, do.
John McCulloch, weaver, do.	John Marwood, sawer, do.
Duncan McMillan, shoe-maker, do.	William Miller, wright, do.
Josiah Miller baker, do.	Thomas Milner, inkle-weaver, do.
John McArthur, shoe-maker, do.	Alexander McInnes, weaver, do.
Hector McPherson, ship-carpenter do.	William McCourty, stocking-maker, do.
Duncan McPherson, do. do.	Daniel McDonald, do. do.
Peter Millar, shoe-maker, do.	Duncan MacIver, taylor, do.
David Muir, wright	William McKean, merchant, do.
John McLaws, grocer, Greenock	Moses Miller, weaver, Beith
David Miller, rope-maker, Port-glasgow	Alexander McHutcheson, baker
James Miller, cabinet-maker, do.	Duncan McGrigor, inkle-weaver, Glasgow
William McAdam, rope-maker, do.	James McCowate, do. do.
David Maul	Peter McKercher, do. do.
Robert Mitchell, turner, Glasgow	Alexander McKay, weaver, do.
Archibald McLac, Finwick, Drymen parish	Walter Miller, stocking-maker, do.
George Morris, mason, Paisley	David Marshall, weaver, do.
Alexander McAdam, weaver, Drymen	John Munfie, wright, do.
James Miller, Finwick, do. do.	John McClamroch, weaver, do.
John Miller, copperplate printer, Anderston	

Mess. James McIndoe, weaver, Gorbals

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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- | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------------|
| James Miller, Finwick, do. do. | Mess. | James M'Indoe, weaver, Gorbals |
| John Miller, copperplate printer, Anderston | | Thomas Morrison, cotton-spinner ditto |
| | | William Morris, weaver, Paisley |
| | | Anthony M'Whirter, do. Anderston |
| | | James Minzies, do. do. |
| | | John Miller, do. do. |
| | | John Morrison, do. Finnisson |
| | | John M'Watt, miller, Partick |
| | | William Muir, weaver, Renfrew |
| | | William M'Kean, do. do. |
| | | William Miller, flax-dresser, do. |
| | | John M'Grigor, Duntocher |
| | | Peter M'Nicoll, printer, Milton |
| | | William M'Hutchon, mill-wright, do. |
| | | John M'Naught, cutter, do. |
| | | Peter M'Murich, shoe-maker, Dumbarton |
| | | Stewart Maxwell, do. do. |
| | | William M'Kinlay, weaver, do. |
| | | John M'Grigor, printer, Cordale |
| | | John M'Farlane, do. do. |
| | | James M'Intire, do. Leven-field |
| | | James Miller, do. do. |
| | | Alexander M'Aulay, Dalmionah |
| Mess. Robert M'Farland, school-master, Ardchat- | | |
| tan, Upper Lorn | | |
| James Meles, shoe-maker, Glasgow | | |
| Andrew Millar, weaver, do. | | |
| Daniel M'Innes, do do. | | |
| Andrew Moffet, mason, do. | | |
| Robert Muir, weaver, do. | | |
| John Millar, do. do. | | |
| Andrew Millar, do. Calton | | |
| Robert M'Donald, do. do. | | |
| William Mill, do. do. | | |
| Peter M'Farlane, do. do. | | |
| Peter M'Nabb, do. do. | | |
| Malcolm M'Quarrie, do. Glasgow | | |
| John M'Clumpha, do. Calton | | |
| Andrew M'Indoe, do. do. | | |
| David M'Nair, do. do. | | |
| Robert M'Kinzie, do. Bridgeton | | |
| William Martin, do. do. | | |
| John M'Donald, do. Pollock-Shaws | | |
| John M'Laren, do. do. | | |
| James M'Kean, brass-founder, Gorbals | | |
| Hugh M'Farlan, weaver, do. | | |

- Mrs. Mary Morrison, residenter, Stirling
 Mess. James McAdam, wright, Bonhill
 William McAllister, shoe-maker
 Alexander McGrigor, Thornliebank
 James Miller of Binton
 Walter Morrison, smith, Denny
 Thomas McKen, weaver
 James Murray, nailer, Whins of Milton
 Daniel McMillan, do. do.
 Archibald Miller, wright, Cumbernairn
 Thomas McNie, shoe-maker, Stirling
 William Millin, wright, ditto
 George Moncrieff, sawer, do.
 William McAllister, weaver, do.
 John Maxwell, stay-maker, do.
 Robert Meiklejohn, brewer, Alloa
 James Miller, wright, do.
 John McGowan, do. do.
 John McDonald, nailer, Stonehousemuir
 John Manson, do.
 Thomas McBain, shoe-maker, Linlithgow
 Peter McClew, do. do.
 James Munigall, dyer, do.
 Mess. Peter Muir, weaver, Boness
 John Muir, sawer, do.
 Wm. Meikle, flax-dresser, do.
 Peter Muirhead, merchant, Torphichen
 Robert Martin, weaver, Airdrie.
 John Miller, portioner, Langloan
 Thomas Miller, weaver, Cross-hill
 Arch. McLearend, shoe-maker, Langloan
 Malcom McWatty, weaver, Westmuir
 William Miller, coal hewer, Shettleston
 James Moffat, shanker, Camlachie
 William McNair, weaver, do.
 James McIndoe, Carmyle
 Thomas Mickle, heel-maker, Hamilton
 Archibald McGhie, brewer, do.
 John Mackie, weaver, do.
 Thomas Millar, do. do.
 James Miller, flax-dresser, do.
 David Moor, stocking-maker, Lanark
 Samuel Mactor, student of divinity, do.
 John Martin, weaver, do.
 Thomas Minto, do. Ravensfruther
 John Meurofs, turner, Carnwath

Mess. John Mure, wright, Udington, near Douglas
 Mess. Hugh McGlathan, shoe-maker, Greenock

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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John Menzies, turner, Carnwath

James Mungall, dyer, do.

Mess. John Mure, wright, Udington, near Douglas
John Minto, Mason, do.
Robert M-Math, Sanquhar

Mess. Hugh M-Glashan, shoe-maker, Greenock
Dougald Murray, smith, do.

James M-Clelland, weaver, Mauchline

N.
Mess. John Niven, weaver, Paisley

John Morton, do. Newmills

John Nicoll, do. do.

John Mirrie, do. do.

David Neill, wright, Irvine

Robert Morrison, flax-dresser, Strathaven

Archibald Niven, sawer, Greenock

Gavin Millar, weaver, Stone-house

John Niven, wright, do.

John Mackie, tenant, Craig-bank

Archibald Niven, change-keeper, do.

James M-Alpine, farmer, Overton of Cum-

Hugh Nisbet, stocking-maker, Glasgow

nethen

William Neill, wright

John M-Kindlay weaver, Paisley

Wm. Nicoll, do. Glasgow

John M-Allan, do. do.

David Nicoll, do. do.

Robert M-Credit, do. Irvine

William Newlands, mason, Bon-hill

Angus M-Kechuie, smith, Boness

James Napier, shoemaker, Bannockburn

James Miller, pilot, Greenock,

William Neilson, wright, Stirling

George M-Leod, taylor, Glasgow

Ebenezer Nasmith, stocking-maker, Ha-

John M-Arthur, weaver, Pollock-shaws

milton

Daniel M-Gowan, clock-maker, Newtown

John Nicol, weaver, Lanark

Thomas M-Ghee, weaver, Paisley

Thomas Nairn, wright, Carnwath

Iver M-Iver, flax-dresser

Mess.

O.
 Mess. John Orr, Rope-maker, Port-glasgow
 Andrew Ormiston, weaver, Calton
 Alexander Ogilvie, Stirling
 James Orr, workman, Lochwinnoch
 John Osburn, sawer, Ayr

P

Mess. John Paul, weaver, Williamsburgh
 James Paterfon, do. Auchintorely
 William Pyper, do. New town of Paisley
 Robert Paterfon, do. do.
 Daniel Phillips, do. Paisley
 John Phyn, dyer, Aberdeen
 George Phillip, weaver, Paisley
 John Paterfon, wright, do.
 David Pollock, grocer, do.
 James Peden
 Robert Paton, shoe-maker, Ayr
 Robert Peebles, taylor, Irvine
 Robert Patrick, shoemaker, Beith
 Andrew Patrick, coal-hewer, Quarrelton
 James Parlane, taylor, Houston

Mess. John Parlane, jun. mason, Baldernock
 John Parker, shoe-maker, Greenock
 Alexander Porterfield, wright, Port-glasgow
 John Paterfon, frame-smith, Glasgow
 Robert Pettie, taylor, do.
 Montgomery Paul, weaver, do.
 John Paterfon, inkle-weaver, do
 Gabriel Park, residenter, do.
 James Pinkerton, sen. weaver, Rutherglen
 John Park, do. Pollock-shaws
 John Peebles, do. Anderston
 William Paterfon, do. Govan
 Allan Paul, Milton
 George Paton, Dalquhurn
 Archibald Paterfon, printer, Cordale
 David Patrick, do. Thornlie-bank
 James Penny, Denny
 David Poet, wright, Alloa
 John Proven, weaver, Camelon
 Ebenezer Picken, Paisley
 James Philp, shoe-maker, Linlithgow
 William Pettigrew, weaver, Airdrie
 John Pettigrew, mason, do.

Mess. Walter Paterfon, weaver, Airdrie

Mess. John Rankin, priner, Ferenize
 John Rankin, Bald weaver, Newton, Port Ayr

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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Andrew Patrick, coal-hewer, Quarrelston
James Parlane, taylor, Houston

Mess. Walter Paterfon, weaver, Airdrie
James Paton, flax-dresser, Mauchline
Robert Pollock, weaver, New-mills
John Pattison, do. Lochwinnoch
Robert Pettigrew, sawer, Old Monkland

Kirk
James Pettigrew, wright, Midleysburn
James Park, weaver, Newton upon Ayr
Rev. Mr. George Paxton, minister, to the asso-
ciate congregation of Stewariton and Kil-

maurs
Mess. James Peebles, wright, Kilburnie
James Park, clock-maker, Kilmacolm

R
Mess. Alexander Richardson, wright, New town
of Paisley

William Robertson, sawer, do.
Robert Robertson, weaver, do.
John Ronald, do. Maxwellton
William Robertson, nailer, Paisley
James Robertson, weaver, do.
Alexander Renfrew, do. High-Dykes
William Reid, Paisley

Mess. John Rankin, printer, Ferenize
William Reid, weaver, Newton, near Ayr
James Reid, do. do.
James Reid, wright, do.
Robert Ritchie, cabinet-maker, do.
Ninian Bobb, residenter, do.
Askin Robertson, coal-hewer, Irvine
John Reid, shoe-maker, do.
William Rodman, do. do.
Daniel Robertson, weaver, Saltcoates
William Robertson, nailer, do.
Robert Roxburgh, baker, do.
Matthew Russel, weaver, Stevenston
William Reid, weaver, Kilwinning
William Reid, farmer, Auchinleck, Kilma-
colm parish

Walter Russel, wright, Greenock
David Ross, shoe maker
William Rodger, smith, Greenock
James Russel plasterer, do.
Robert Ritchie, weaver, do.
Alexander Robertson, taylor, do.
James Richardson, student, St. Ninians

Mess. John Rankin, engraver, Barony Parish
 William Rankin, tailor, Glasgow
 James Robertson, weaver, do.
 Robert Renney, inkle-weaver, do.
 Robert Russell, weaver, do.
 Alexander Rae, currier, Calton
 James Robertson, weaver, do.
 John Riddell, do. Bridgeton
 John Robertson, do. Rutherglen
 David Reid, do. do.
 James Russell, do. Gorbals
 Robert Reid, do. do.
 James Richardson, do. Anderston
 James Rayburn, do. do.
 John Rowan, wright, Stirling
 William Robertson, do.
 Robert Rae, merchant, Stirling
 James Robertson, nailer, Stonehouse-muir
 John Robertson, sawer, Bo-ness
 James Ritchie, baker, Airdrie
 Robert Renwick, brewer, do.
 Joseph Rennie, weaver, Camlachie
 James Risk, flax-dresser, Carmyle

Mess. James Reid, copper-smith, Hamilton
 William Renwick, stocking-maker, do.
 Andrew Russel, weaver, Coven-burn
 Josiah Reat, do. Lanark
 John Reid, coal-brewer, Sanquhar
 John Reid, shoe-maker, New Cumnock
 James Reid, do. Mauchline
 Hugh Reid, paper-maker, Galtton
 John Rose, wright, east Kilbryde Parish
 John Riddell, weaver, Lechwinnoch
 William Rodger, carter, Foul-yates
 William Russell, smith, Carnbrow
 Thomas Ritchie, weaver, Glasgow
 William Rankien, do. Maxwellton

S.

Mess. John Stewart, Paisley
 Robert Stewart, merchant, do.
 William Sleane, weaver, Williamsburgh
 William Struthers, smith, do.
 John Simm, weaver, Linnside
 James Snodgrass, farmer, Knock

Mess. Rob. Stevensdown, weaver, Newtown of
 Mess. William Smith, weaver, Netherton-holm

Mess. Rob. Stevensdown, weaver, Newtown of Paisley

John Smith, student of divinity, do.

David Smith, weaver, do.

William Shanks, do. do.

Daniel Sinclair, shoe-maker, Paisley

John Smith, do. do.

James Stewart, weaver, do.

James Sclater, do. do.

David Stewart, do. do.

John Sayer, do. Maxwellton

Robert Smith, do. do.

James Stewart, wright, Paisley

Thomas Smith, glazier, do.

Robert Stewart, reed-maker, do.

Allan Stewart, inn-keeper, do.

James Sharp, copper-smith, do.

John Smith, shoe-maker,

Thomas Salmon, printer, Ferenize

Thomas Stewart, smith, Kilmarnock

Andrew, Smith, heddle-maker, do.

Alexander Smith, shoe-maker, do.

John Smellie, coal-bewer, Netherton-holm

Mess. William Smith, weaver, Netherton-holm

Thomas Shaw, shoe-maker, Riddarton

John Simson, weaver, do.

Robert Swan, tanner, Ayr

Robert Smith, weaver, Irvine

Archibald Sillars, shoe-maker, Saltcoats

Robert Service, weaver, Kilwinning

James Semple, do. Quarrelton

Wm Smith, spinner, Newtown of Johnston

David Smith, weaver, Greenock

William Shaw, at Longvenal factory, do.

William Shaw, student of divinity, do. two

copies

James Sinclair, cooper, do.

Robert Simpson, wright, do.

Duncan Sinclair, sawer, do.

William Snyp, rope-maker, Port-glasgow

John Speirs, wright, do.

Matthew Scott, rope-maker, ditto

Archibald Storie, wright, Walkinshaw,

Renfrew parish

John Scales, writer, Glasgow

Donald Smith, weaver, ditto

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

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Mrs. Mary Stewart, residenter, Calton	Mess. Archibald Stevenson, printer, Water of Leven
Mess. Ninian Struthers, weaver, Swinton, old Monkland Parish.	John Stevenson, do. do.
James Sym, do. Bogside ditto	Samuel Stevenson, do. Thornlie-bank
James Stark, portioner, Barony parish	John Scott, weaver, Kirkinulloch
Archibald Stewart, taylor, Glasgow	Robert Shearer, carrier, Kilsyth
John Stewart, do. Campbellton	John Stevenson, weaver, do.
John Sinclair, inkle-weaver, Glasgow	John Stevenson, workman, Bannockburn
Alexander Stewart, wright, ditto	Robert Stevenson, quarrier
John Steen, stocking-maker, do.	Thomas Smitton, shoe-maker, Stirling
James Smith, cotton-spinner, Glasgow	Andrew Sommers, wool-comber, Linlithgow
John Seggie, inkle-weaver, do.	William Small, weaver, Boness
John Sommers, weaver, do.	Alexander Smith, do. Airdrie
Archibald Speirs, do do.	Thomas Scott, cotton spinner, Laverock-hall
John Smith, do. do.	John Scouler, weaver, Carlisle
John Shedden, do. Calton	William Smith, do. Lanark
William Selkirk, weaver, do.	John Sommerville, stocking-maker, do.
James Stark, do. Bridgeton,	Hugh Spence, taylor, Carlisle
Alexander Stewart, do. do.	James Spence, shoe-maker do.
John Sewart, do. Nite-hill, Paisley Parish	Thomas Smith, shoe-maker, Kirkonall
Alexander Struthers, shoe-maker Anderson	John Smith, weaver, Mauchline
James Smith, wright, Duntocher	
Robert Scott, do. Milton	

Mess. Gavin Turner, weaver, Paisley

Mess. James Semple, shoe-maker, Strathaven

James Smith, wright, Dumfries.
Robert Scott, do. Milton

Mess: James Sempie, shoe-maker, Strathaven
Robert Smith, farmer, East Kilbryde
Robert Strang, shoe-maker, do.
William Steel, wright, do.
William Struthers, shoe-maker
Allan Stevenson, undertaker, Burntfields
Henry Spence, groom, Wood-hall
William Sommervill, coal-hewer, Wishaw
Thomas Struthers, weaver, Irvine
John Shearer, shoe-maker, Greenock
John Sinclair, reed-maker, Glasgow
Hugh Smith, weaver
John Sharp, do. New town of Paisley

T

Mess: Robert Taylor, bleacher, Glanderston
Walter Thomson, weaver, New town of Paisley
William Templeton, do. do.
John Tannahill, do. Paisley
Robert Thomson, do. do.
John Taylor, jun. do. do.
Hugh Thomson, shoe-maker, do.

Mess: Gavin Turner, weaver, Paisley
John Telfer, do. do.
William Taylor, do. do.
John Thomson, do. Maxwellton
John Thomson, student of divinity, Kilmarnock
Hugh Thomson, jun. glover, Kilmarnock
Thomas Thomson, do. do.
James Thomson shoe-maker, Stevenston
John Taylor, Greenock
Duncan Turner, shoe-maker, do.
John Thomson, do. Glasgow
Thomas Thomson, inkle-weaver, do.
John Thomson, taylor, do.
John Turnbull, hatter, do.
Robert Todd, weaver, do.
James Turnbull, baker, do.
Thomas Tweedale, taylor, Calton
William Thomson, mill wright, Glasgow
David Turnbull, weaver, Bridgeton
Phillip Thomson, mason, Bonhill
William Thomson, smith, Kilsyth
James Taylor, merchant, Stirling

John Smith, weaver, Mauchline

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

- Mrs. Mary Stewart, residenter, Calton
 Mess. Ninian Struthers, weaver, Swinton, old
 Monkland Parish.
 James Sym, do. Bogside ditto
 James Stark, portioner, Barony parish
 Archibald Stewart, taylor, Glasgow
 John Stewart, do. Campbellton
 John Sinclair, incle-weaver, Glasgow
 Alexander Stewart, wright, ditto
 John Skeen, stocking-maker, do.
 James Smith, cotton-spinner, Glasgow
 John Seggie, incle-weaver, do.
 John Sommers, weaver, do.
 Archibald Speirs, do do.
 John Smith, do. do.
 John Shedden, do. Calton
 William Selkirk, weaver, do.
 James Stark, do. Bridgeton,
 Alexander Stewart, do. do.
 John Sewatt, do. Nith-hill, Paisley Parish
 Alexander Struthers, shoe-maker, Anderston
 James Smith, wright, Duntocher
 Robert Scott, do. Milton

 Mess. Archibald Stevenson, printer, Water of
 Leven
 John Stevenson, do. do.
 Samuel Stevenson, do. Thornlie-bank
 John Scott, weaver, Kirkintilloch
 Robert Shearer, carrier, Kilguth
 John Stevenson, weaver, do.
 John Stevenson, workman, Bannockburn
 Robert Stevenson, quarrier
 Thomas Smitton, shoe-maker, Stirling
 Andrew Sommers, wool-comber, Linnith-
 gow
 William Small, weaver, Boness
 Alexander Smith, do. Airdrie
 Thomas Scott, cotton spinner, Laverock-
 hall
 John Scouler, weaver, Carluke
 William Smith, do. Lanark
 John Sommervil, stocking-maker, do.
 Hugh Spence, taylor, Carstairs
 James Spence, shoe-maker do.
 Thomas Smith, shoe-maker, Kirtonall
 John Smith, weaver, Mauchline

Mess. James Semple, shoe-maker, Strathaven

Mess. Gavin Turner, weaver, Paisley

John Smith, weaver, Mauchline

James Smith, wright, Dumfries
Robert Scott, do. Milton

Mess. James Semple, shoe-maker, Strathaven
Robert Smith, farmer, East Kilbryde
Robert Strang, shoe-maker, do.
William Steel, wright, do.
William Struthers, shoe-maker
Allan Stevenson, undertaker, Burntislands
Henry Spence, groom, Wood-hall
William Sommervill, coal-hewer, Wishaw
Thomas Struthers, weaver, Irvine
John Shearer, shoe-maker, Greenock
John Sinclair, reed-maker, Glasgow
Hugh Smith, weaver
John Sharp, do. New town of Paisley

T

Mess. Robert Taylor, bleacher, Glanderston
Walter Thomson, weaver, New town of
Paisley
William Templeton, do. do.
John Tennahill, do. Paisley
Robert Thomson, do. do.
John Taylor, jun. do. do.
Hugh Thomson, shoe-maker, do.

Mess. Gavin Turner, weaver, Paisley
John Telfer, do. do.
William Taylor, do. do.
John Thomson, do. Maxwellton
John Thomson, student of divinity, Kil-
maurs
Hugh Thomson, jun. glover, Kilmarnock
Thomas Thomson, do. do.
James Thomson shoe-maker, Stevenston
John Taylor, Greenock
Duncan Turner, shoe-maker, do.
John Thomson, do. Glasgow
Thomas Thomson, inkle-weaver, do.
John Thomson, taylor, do.
John Turnbull, hatter, do.
Robert Todd, weaver, do.
James Turnbull, baker, do.
Thomas Tweedale, taylor, Calton
William Thomson, mill-wright, Glasgow
David Turnbull, weaver, Bridgeton
Phillip Thomson, mason, Bonhill
William Thomson, smith, Kilsyth
James Taylor, merchant, Stirling

Mess. George Tower, vintner, Stirling
 Hugh Thomson, nailer
 William Thomson, wright, Bainsford
 John Thom, weaver, Airdrie
 Robert Thomson, do. Lanark
 John Todd at Carnwath mill
 John Taylor, dyer
 James Templeton, weaver, Auchinleck
 Hugh Torrance, do. New-mills
 Peter Tarbet, do. Darvell
 Archibald Thomson jun. do. Strathaven

U

Mess. William Ure, Flax-dresser, Greenock
 John Ure, wright, do.
 John Urie, weaver, Pollock-shaws
 James Ure, shoemaker, Strathaven

W. V.

Mess. Andrew Wright, New town of Paisley
 Thomas Whitehead, tanner do.
 James Whyte, shop-keeper, Paisley
 James Watson, weaver, do.

Mess. Daniel Wright, at Greenlaw
 John Wilson, weaver, Williamsburgh
 Alexander Wilson, do. New town of Paisley
 Charles Whyte, Paisley
 William Wilson, wright, do.
 David Willie, weaver, do.
 John Wallace, do. do.
 John Wilson, do. do.
 Alexander Wark, shoe-maker, do.
 Robert Wilson, weaver, do.
 John Watson, do. do.
 Robert Willie, do. do.
 John Whyte, do. do.
 Thomas Watson, Maxwellton
 Colin Wingate, nailer, Paisley
 William Wallace, weaver, do.
 Robert Willie, tailor, do.
 John Whyte, surgeon, do.
 James Weir, mason, do.
 John Wallace, farmer, Capplay, Neilston
 parish
 James Willie, hosier, Stewarton

James Watson, weaver, do.

Mess. Robert Willie, wright, Stewarston
 Hugh Wilson, shoe-maker, Finwick
 John Wilson, do. Kilmarnock
 James Watson, smith, do.
 William Willie, dyer, New town near Ayr
 John Watt, watch-maker, Irvine
 John Willie, shoe-maker, do.
 Hugh Wilson, do. do.
 Alexander Wallace, smith, do.
 William Willie, weaver Saltcoats
 Angus Wright, plasterer, Greenock
 Andrew Wilson, shoe-maker, do.
 James Watson, jun. do. do.
 Robert Wilson, student, Glasgow
 Robert Wotherspoon, jun. Old Monkland
 parish
 Robert Witherspoon, sen. Swinton. do.
 John Whitelaw, engraver, Grahamston
 Alexander Wilson, mason, Glasgow
 William Wilson, inkle-weaver, do.
 Matcom Wright, cotton spinner, do.
 William Watson, weaver, do.
 John Watson, do. do.

Mess. Daniel Wilkison, weaver Glasgow
 John Willie, do. do.
 Alexander Waddel, do. do.
 James Wilson, cooper, Pollock-shaws
 William Walker, weaver, Gorbals
 Joseph Waddel, do. Anderston
 John Wilson, miller, Partick
 Adam Walker, sen. shoe-maker, Dumbarton
 Thomas White, skinner, Renton
 Robert Wallace, weaver, Kilsyth
 William Wands, schoolmaster, Bannock-
 burn
 James Wilson, msufacturer, do.
 Robert Whitelaw, wright, St Ninians
 Robert Wands, weaver, Torbrex
 William Wands, do. do.
 William Walker, do. New-house
 James Wands, do. do.
 William Watson, wright, Stirling
 Thomas Wordie, do. Bainsford
 James Walker, weaver, Lauriston
 Alexander Walker, taylor, Grangemouth

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Meff. Alexander Wardrop, wool-comber, Lin-

lithgow

John Wilson, shoe-maker, do.

James Watson, weaver, do.

Thomas Weir, Wright, Whitburn

David Wright, weaver, Airdrie

John Witherspoon, do. Mid-quarter

William Waterston, do Camlachie

Alexander Waugh, do. do.

John Waterston, do. do.

James Wood, weaver, at Flemings fall,

near Broom-house Toll

James Wright, do. at Muirhead, do.

John Walker, Carmyle

John Wallace, smith, Udington

William Witherspoon, weaver, Bothwell

John Weir do, Carluke

William Weir, do. Lanark

Andrew Wilson, stocking-maker, do.

William Waton, carrier, Carlairs

James Wilson, taylor, Carnwath

Andrew Wilson, shoe-maker, Douglass

Archibald Weir, shoe-maker, Mauchline

Mr John Yool, weaver, Maxwelton

John Young coal-brewer. Dalry.

McF. John Wallace, farmer, Thripwood, Galston

parish

John Wallace, flocking-maker, Galston

Robert Valence, banker

John Wilson, merchant, Strathaven

Wm. Watt, wright, East Kilbryde

James Watt, shoe maker, do.

John Wingate, plowman, Castlesempole

James Walker, shoe-maker, Dyke-head

John Weir, Shoe-maker, Stone-house

David Walker, coal-hewer, Newart-bill

James Wilson, wright, Paifley

James Walker, shoe-maker, Kilmarnock

Alexander Wisc, upholsterer, Ayr

William Woodburn, Sawyer, Newton near

AVT

Alexander Wallace, wright, Calton

John Watson, coal-hewer, Stane

22

Thomas Young, weaver, Paifley

Samuel Young, wright, do.

John Youll, weaver Glasgow

William Youll, jun. do. do.

Samuel Young, wright, do.

John Youll, weaver Glasgow

William Youll, jun. do. do.

James Zuill, print-cutter, Thornlie-bank

John Young, Denny

Donald Young, wright, Bothwell

William Young, shoe-maker, Lanark

Robert Young, do. New town Wislaw

George Young, weaver, Paisley

Andrew Wilton, shoe-maker, Douglas
Archibald Weir, shoe-maker, Mauchline

Messrs. John Yool, weaver, Maxwellton

John Young, coal-hewer, Dalry

Robert Young, carter, New town of John-
ston

Alexander Young, sawer, Greenock

Thomas Young, Barony parish

David Young, inkle-weaver, Glasgow

Andrew Younger, weaver, do.

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